JULY 1, 1961 30c
MAGAZINE OF THE
FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Fellowship

n Francisco-Moscow Walkers in London

COMMUNISM AND COEXISTENCE

by John M. Swomley, Jr.

Theodor Rosebury — C.B.R. AND DISARMAMENT

John C. Heidbrink — THE BRIDGE OF FAITH

William Robert Miller — PROBLEMS OF NONVIOLENCE

ON THE ROAD: PHOTOS OF FREEDOM RIDE & PEACE WALK

Potpourri: Nonviolence on a New Orleans Picket Line

Serving in Africa • Reviews of new books, pamphlets, films

Fellowship

Box 271, Nyack, New York

VOL. 27 · NO. 13 JULY 1, 1961

In Context ... 1

Contributors ... 4

Communism and Coexistence—John M. Swomley Jr. ... 5

Blind opposition to communism is no substitute for careful study and painstaking assessment of ideological developments. Of key importance is the shift in the Kremlin's thinking on war and capitalism from Lenin to Khrushchev.

To John Woolman, Tailor (poem)—Warren Kliewer ... 9

The Bridge of Faith—John C. Heidbrink ... 10

Christians in Iron Curtain countries, like Joseph Hromadka, are today confronting a harsh challenge to the nature and mission of the church. Can it exist as a national ornament or curio and still stand as a bridge of reconciliation for all men?

A Hebrew Oration—Richard W. Leavitt ... 14

Problems of Nonviolence—William Robert Miller ... 15

An article-review of Paul Ramsey's critique of the sit-ins which has implications for the general theory and practice of nonviolence.

On the Road: Photo Story of Freedom Ride & Peace Action 17

CBR and Disarmament—Theodor Rosebury ... 21

A review of some of the current thinking about germ and gas warfare, indicating that weapons of this type are as unwieldy as they are immoral.

The Image of the Cross: a meditation ... 25

Potpourri ... 26

A 19-year-old college sophomore describes her experiences on a CORE picket line in New Orleans; a Briton offers advice to would-be "do-gooders" in nascent Africa.

Books ... 29

Films ... 33

Pamphlets ... 34

Letters ... 36

COVER PHOTO: American San Francisco-to-Moscow Peace Walkers share in a giant disarmament rally at Trafalgar Square, London. Associated Press photo.

Copyright © 1961 by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. All rights reserved.

MEMBER ASSOCIATED CHURCH PRESS

EDITOR
ALFRED HASSLER

MANAGING EDITOR
WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT
PAUL PEABODY

EDITORIAL CONTRIBUTORS
Vera Brittain
Margueritte Harmon Bro
Allan Knight Chalmers
Florence Converse
Henry Hitt Crane
Albert Edward Day
Eugene Exman
Caleb Foote
Albert Fowler
Richard B. Gregg
Wallace Hamilton
John Haynes Holmes
Allan A. Hunter
Aldous Huxley
Josephine W. Johnson
Jameson Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
James M. Lawson Jr.
Muriel Lester
Milton Mayer
Alfred D. Moore
Ferner Nuhn
Edith Lovejoy Pierce
Pitirim A. Sorokin
Douglas V. Steere
John M. Swomley Jr.
Howard Thurman

ILLUSTRATOR
BARRY MARTIN

FELLOWSHIP is published twice monthly. Re-entered as second-class matter January 1, 1958 at the Post Office at Nyack, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

FELLOWSHIP
IS PUBLISHED BY THE
FELLOWSHIP OF
RECONCILIATION

See inside back cover for list of officers, staff and advisory council. An abbreviated form of the Fellowship's statement of purpose —"That Men May Live"— appears on page 36.

30 CENTS A COPY
$3 A YEAR

in context

EDITORIAL COMMENTS
ON THE CURRENT SCENE

BERLIN

The world moves these days from crisis to crisis, with each looming on the horizon before its predecessor has subsided. The real question increasingly becomes how long the tension can continue before someone loses control.

Now it is Berlin. More is involved than simply the cold-blooded maneuvering for power on the part of Khrushchev. Continued leadership of the Communist bloc through proving to the Chinese his capacity to be "tough" may be the factor many commentators say it is. But two other considerations seem more important: the genuine fear of a reunited and rearmed Germany that Russians and many others feel, and that is not alleviated by the sight of nuclear weapons in West Germany, and the need, for reasons both of prestige and operations, to plug up the hole through which thousands of doctors, engineers, teachers and others are fleeing to the West. It was for these reasons that a former foreign minister said to us two years ago in Geneva that if war erupted it would be over Berlin.

The American response continues to be rigid and unimaginative, holding tenaciously to an agreement never intended to be permanent and drafted under far different circumstances. And such modest attempts at a new approach as Senator Mansfield's suggestion to unite Berlin as a free city under UN supervision are greeted with horror in official Washington.

It may well be that President Eisenhower was right, and that if the peoples of the world really want peace they will have to insist that the governments stand aside and let them make it.

TEST BAN

The 2½-year old Geneva test-ban talks are on the verge of collapse in the face of Soviet insistence on the veto power over any inspection system, and our government is now preparing the public mind for resumption of underground tests of nuclear weapons.

Such resumption could be a fatal blow to hopes for any disarmament agreement and should be resisted vigorously by peace forces. The principal argument of those who would resume the tests is the warning that the United States may be falling behind because the Soviet Union "may even now be testing surreptitiously."

This is a never-quite-stated accusation that has been made repeatedly during the three years of test moratorium. The reply to it was made by Ambassador James J. Wadsworth, who headed the American Geneva team during the Eisenhower Administration. Wadsworth said in January that there was absolutely no evidence to support the charge, and added his belief that "the Russian government has every intention of living up to any agreement they may make from the standpoint of nuclear tests or the larger areas of disarmament."

TRACTORS

This is written as four American experts are in Havana negotiating the hoped-for exchange of 500 tractors for some 1200 prisoners captured during the abortive invasion of Cuba on April 17. The quick decision of the President to accept Premier Castro's unexpected proposal obviously disconcerted the Cubans and caused Mr. Castro's stock

to drop in Latin America and the rest of the world. Coincidentally, and in spite of some angry outcries of "blackmail" in this country, it helped a little to redeem the loss of prestige America suffered as a result of the invasion debacle. If the exchange goes through, two good ends will have been accomplished: the men will be free and some Cuban farmers will have much-needed tractors for their struggle to convert their country from a one-crop economy to the rich agricultural diversity of which the island is capable.

But both sides missed the opportunity to make a real break in the strain between the two countries that the exercise of imaginative compassion would have made possible. Premier Castro, his predictions of invasion verified and his strength demonstrated, could have made the leap to a position of genuine world leadership by freeing the prisoners unconditionally, congratulating them on their courage and inviting them to help him build a new Cuba.

The United States, confronted with the exchange proposal, could easily have lifted it from the level of ransom to that of reconciliation by offering 1,000 tractors instead of 500. We would, of course, have reaped an enormous harvest of goodwill by such an act, in Cuba, Latin America, and the world.

That neither of them did these things is new evidence of how little we understand of the great deal we know about human nature and its responses. In studies and experience with alcoholics, juvenile delinquents, criminals, and the emotionally disturbed we have seen again and again that the friendly, forgiving, understanding, helpful, nonthreatening approach disarms and heals, where the threatening and hostile one simply aggravates. But still we are reluctant to believe that all men are, not just of one blood but of one human kind, and that love is in all cases a more helpful tool than hate.

LOGAN ACT

The Tractors-for-Freedom Commi tee was warned by some members c Congress that it might run afoul of th Logan Act, which forbids private cit zens to carry on diplomatic negotiatior with foreign governments except by o ficial permission. The FOR's "reconci iation team," which still is refused pe mission by the State Department to g to Cuba, was given the same warnin by a State official. The circumstance make the history of the Act pertinen

The Logan Act was adopted by Cor gress in 1799 and, according to ou lawyer friends, has been applied onl once since. It was named for Georg Logan, a Quaker and member of th Pennsylvania Legislature, who in 179 went to France as a private citizen t try to prevent war between the tw countries over American sailors in prisoned by France. Logan went afte official American commissioners ha failed to get the men freed. He had n passport, but carried with him letter from Vice-President Thomas Jefferso and Pennsylvania's Governor Kear President Adams and former Presider Washington were outraged, and th Logan Act was the consequence.

The "snapper" to the story, as th comedians would say, is that Loga was well received in France and su ceeded in his mission.

CD

One of the country's promisin apathies, that toward Civil Defense, growing rapidly.

Item. A conference on Civil Defens for editors and writers of religious pul lications sponsored by the Office c Civil and Defense Mobilization at i Battle Creek headquarters, turned u only 25 participants after strenuous pr motion efforts, with none of the majc denominations represented. (*Fellov ship* had a man there; when he aske

ne guard at the door where the air raid helter was located, the guard didn't now.)

Item. Hard on the heels of the Presi-ent's decision to "press for a stronger rogram" of air raid shelters, the Gov-rnment decided to "save $1,695,000" y eliminating fall-out shelters from ne plans for its new $78,000,000 center n New York City.

Item. The Oregon Civil Defense gency this year requested a budget of 288,380 from the State Legislature. estimony by members of the Eugene eace Information Center and letters of pposition resulted in a recommenda-ion by the Ways and Means Commit-ee of a cut to $200,000. This was fol-owed by a warning from the Regional Director of OCDM that federal funds night be lost unless the original "min-mal" amount was restored, which had he interesting result of a further and inal cut to $175,118.

Item. The Colorado Springs *Gazette-Telegraph* devoted its entire editorial pace on June 7 to an attack on CD, quoting liberally from *Fellowship's* "Neither Run Nor Hide."

OCTRINE

Paste into your scrapbooks the words of Deputy Secretary of Defense Ros-well L. Gilpatric for use next time omebody tells you that nobody's real-y thinking of using nuclear weapons.

"The current doctrine," said Mr. Gil-patric in a news conference June 6, "is hat if NATO forces were about to be overwhelmed by non-nuclear attacks rom the [Communist] bloc countries, NATO would make use of nuclear arms."

Then, just to make it clearer, he added:

"I, for one, have never believed in a so-called limited nuclear war. I just don't know how you build a limit into it once you start using any kind of a nuclear bang."

HUNGER

Now the word is that China's 1961 wheat crop has been hit by drought and cold and will be, in the words of the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* "a disastrous failure." This will make the third straight year of such failures for the Chinese. Although a few hot China partisans still deny vigorously that food shortages exist, reports of extensive suffering are now commonplace, and widely accepted.

Lending them credence have been the enormous purchases of grain made by the Chinese from Canada, Australia and, most recently, France. A significant aspect of these purchases has been that the first were paid for in cash, but recent ones have required long-term credit arrangements. All but about one-third of China's foreign credits normally comes from the export of foodstuffs; thus the transformation of the mammoth country from exporter to importer is a major catastrophe for a country with China's need for rapid development even apart from the immediate human suffering.

Our government's decision to refuse permission for an American company to sell unloading equipment to Canadian shippers to handle the grain for China was hastily reversed after protests began to pour into the White House, but the Food-for-Peace Program still has made no move to offer some of America's billions of dollars worth of surplus food to the famine-stricken country. Word from Washington is that thousands of letters and little grain bags have come to the White House from Fellowship members and friends, but not nearly enough to convince the government that there is any serious concern for the situation in the country. *The churches, said one official, don't seem to care very much.*

What was it that Radical said? "Depart from me, you cursed . . . for I was hungry, and you gave me no food!"

FIRST STEP

Digging through the files the other day we came across a document headed "Foreigners in the New China." It was a statement adopted by the "English speaking branch of the Peking (Peiping) Fellowship of Reconciliation," and it was dated June 10, 1925. Its concluding words seem not irrelevant to the situation 36 years later.

". . . We have now to realize that because of the failure of our forerunners here, and our own failures, we cannot afford to take a passive attitude in this matter of friendship and fellowship. We have to make the first advances and to make them in a spirit of love and humility. We have to remember that love alone is creative, that a healthy, sane Christian international life is impossible in the atmosphere of hate which exists in too many places today. We foreigners have, whether consciously or unconsciously, helped to stir up this feeling and therefore on us lies the burden of seeking by every means in our power not only to allay but rather to transform it."

QUOTE

"The United States has long had a chance to make its real voice heard in Asia by offering help to the hungry Chinese from our vast grain surplus. Many individual Americans have urged such action, but the Administration has expressed doubt that the Chinese commissars would accept such aid. Very possibly they would not, but we cannot find out until the offer is made."

—*New York Post*,
June 8, 1961.

* * *

You heard the story of the Chicago lawyer who offered to send 15 tractors to the mayor of Jackson, Mississippi, in exchange for 27 jailed Freedom Riders? Now it seems the mayor will take only White trucks.

CONTRIBUTORS IN THIS ISSUE

John M. Swomley Jr. is associate professor of social ethics at St. Paul's Methodist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, and a former executive secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Dr. Swomley's knowledge of communism dates back to the late 1930s when, as FOR college secretary, he helped steer the pacifist movement away from communist-dominated front organizations. In the 1950s, his pamphlet, *The Peace Offensive and the Cold War*, was widely circulated.

John C. Heidbrink joined the staff of the Fellowship of Reconciliation recently as associate secretary for church work. He formerly served as director of the Westminster Foundation of the University of Oklahoma.

Theodor Rosebury is professor of bacteriology at Washington University in St. Louis. His article in this issue is abridged from a talk given at Harvard University last fall, under the auspices of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

William Robert Miller is managing editor of FELLOWSHIP and a frequent contributor to pacifist and church periodicals in the U. S. and abroad.

POTPOURRI writer **Connie Bradford** is a student at Sophie Newcomb College in New Orleans. **Harold Guite** is lecturer in classics at University College, Ibadan, Nigeria, and was for several years secretary of the European Youth Committee of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. His POTPOURRI piece is reprinted from *Via Pacis*, the multilingual youth magazine of the IFOR.

Book reviewer **Gelston McNeil** is a FOR member and director of the Overseas Friendship Center in Utica, N. Y.

COMMUNISM AND COEXISTENCE

BY JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

MANY AMERICANS have difficulty in understanding what Communist leaders mean when they speak of peace, coexistence, and disarmament. Some see these terms as "trick" words designed to lull the West into lowering its defenses. Others see them as propaganda intended to cover up the doctrines of violent revolution first proclaimed by Marx. Neither of these is an adequate or accurate explanation of the Communist view of peace today.

Communism, of course, is not simply Marxism; it is the doctrine of Marx as extended and modified by Lenin, Stalin, and Khrushchev in the course of their encounter with the developments of history. All three of these Soviet spokesmen have shared in formulating the current Communist doctrines of war and peace.

Bukharin summarized Communist beliefs about war in asserting that it is created by the "competition of monopoly capitalisms for raw materials and markets. Communist society is made up of unselfish and harmonious units and therefore will be by definition a world at peace." Ultimately, according to communism, peace is the achievement of a classless society.

In the struggle for peace the end justifies the means, or as Lenin once suggested, "morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat." The defense of peace is therefore defense of socialism or communist society at any stage of its development. Preparation for and even participation in war is not inconsistent with peace.

This can be stated in another way. The Communist believes that war is, in effect, an effort on the part of capitalist forces to stop or reverse the basic pattern of historical development which is moving toward the classless society. Since the Soviet Union is responsive to the processes of history because it is guided by the basic Marxian law of social development, it is always for peace, even at the time when it is forced by the enemy to wage war.

The Communist concept of the goal of history or the classless society as peace can in some respects be understood if we view it in the light of biblical views of peace. In the Old Testament the Hebrew word for peace (*shalom*) means harmony—the perfect unity of righteousness, mercy and truth. Peace means that the goal of God for men has been realized. In the New Testament peace (*eirene*) has been revealed in Jesus Christ in the sense of community with God and men. The evidence that men are at peace with God is to be found in their relationships with each other.

Marx has in effect accepted and perverted the idea of peace being a perfect harmonious community by portraying it as a goal to be realized in history as a result of the class struggle and the elimination of all classes but one.

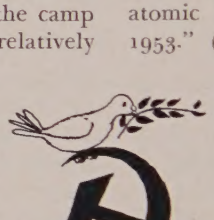
Lenin is responsible for applying this

doctrine of peace to the facts of Soviet existence. As a result of the founding of the Soviet Union he said "the states of the world have been divided into two camps, the camp of capitalism and the camp of socialism." Since by nature capitalism is hostile to socialism and since he believed war is the inevitable result of the aggressive competition of capitalist nations, parallel existence or coexistence was necessary to protect the only "socialist" state.

This concept of two rival camps enabled him to think of peace in the one and war in the other. War and every manifestation of the class struggle were to be encouraged in the capitalist camp because it would weaken the enemy. Colonial revolutions and war between capitalist nations were not inconsistent with coexistence since they occurred within the capitalist camp and not between the two camps.

The Stalinist Isolationism

If capitalism was by definition the camp of war, it follows that peace for a relatively weak Soviet Union could only be preserved by disengagement from the capitalist camp. Stalin built his isolationism on this idea, sealed the Soviet Union behind an iron curtain of isolationism, and proclaimed the doctrine of "socialism in one country." In 1927 he defeated the internationalist or Trotskyist wing which insisted that socialism had to come on a virtually simultaneous world-wide level. Then he called for "postponing war with the capitalist world which is inevitable but which can be postponed either until the moment when the proletarian revolution in Europe matures, or until the moment when the colonial revolutions have fully matured, or lastly, until the moment when the capitalists come to blows over the division of the colonies." Stalin looked upon coexistence as a tactic rather than a goal. He was describing a temporary situation rather than a normative basis for friendly relations with the capitalist camp.



Until his death, Stalin's concept of coexistence was tied to isolation of the Soviet Union as a method of defense from western penetration and involvement. He believed that the United States and its allies were strong enough that only a war of attrition against capitalism was possible. The Soviet Union in turn could be defended by what he called "permanently operating factors" such as morale of the army, organizing ability of the commanding officers, weapons, number and quality of divisions, and the stability of the rear.

Even after the development of the atom bomb Soviet military strategy did not change. Stalin insisted that atomic bombs "cannot decide the outcome of a war" and Molotov added that it was a weapon against cities but not against troops. This was not a device to deceive the West so it would think the Soviet Union could not be intimidated. It was a matter of military doctrine for some years after the Soviet Union was stockpiling bombs. An American military analyst, Raymond Garthoff, pointed out that in harmony with this doctrine there had been "literally no preparation for atomic warfare prior to the autumn of 1953." (*Army*, January 1958, p. 53).

Malenkov in 1954 was so impressed with the power of thermonuclear weapons that he asserted "modern methods of warfare mean the ruin of world civilization." Believing that Soviet nuclear capability would deter the U. S., he was ready to pay more attention to consumer than to military production. On this issue he was demoted by those, including Khrushchev, the military, and Molotov, who wanted to depend on greater armament. They forced Malenkov to accept the more orthodox idea that only capitalism would collapse if war came. Khrushchev, however, like Stalin, believed that victory over the West had to be basically a political rather than a military victory. So he rejected both Malenkov's idea that the whole of civilization is threatened and Molotov's insistence on the inevitability of war.

Khrushchev, who nevertheless saw clearly the danger to both socialism and capitalism from nuclear war, decided to modify the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist doctrine by asserting that war was no longer inevitable between capitalists and Communists, that peaceful coexistence "is not a tactical move

but a fundamental principle of Soviet foreign policy." (Khrushchev, 20th Party Congress.)

He based his position, however, not so much on the idea that war was so horrible that it is unthinkable but that if the Soviet Union became increasingly and overwhelmingly powerful, capitalists would not start a war. This combination of a powerful military posture plus the already obvious political and economic power of the Chinese-Russian-Eastern European bloc provided the formal explanation for his new doctrine.

Background for Khrushchev's Policy

There are two other factors that need to be considered as background for the Khrushchev doctrine of coexistence. One is the apparent optimism now felt by Soviet leaders that history has moved fast enough to give them the growing edge over capitalism and they must be careful not to let this edge be jeopardized by war. The second is the idea that war, especially nuclear war, would interfere with historical development so drastically as to jeopardize not only the present prospect of communism but also set back the clock of history.

This line of reasoning is one prong of the doctrinal case for disarmament. Only by disarmament can they be sure that Germany will not be armed with nuclear weapons, that American bases around the perimeter of China and the Soviet Union will be removed and the danger of unintended as well as intentional war be removed.

Another basis for disarmament is the drive in the Soviet Union to move from socialism, where everyone is paid for the work he does, to communism, where need determines reward and the state will wither away. This drive of communism in one country is Krushchev's extension of Stalin's idea of socialism in one country. In other words, he implies that Marx and Trotsky were wrong in assuming communism would be a world-wide development. According to the Krushchev thesis, it can come, at least in large part, in one country in a disarmed world.

The achievement of communism, however, depends on economic plenty and on the withering away of the coercive aspects of the state. Obviously the Soviet Union can't get either of these two if such a large proportion of the gross national product (estimated at about 25%) goes into the military budget and if a large conscript military establishment and intensive security precautions are needed because of western armaments.

Khrushchev is also modifying Marx in that his view of a Communist state is something short of Marx's utopia. Instead of Stalin's rigid state control Khrushchev expects the Party, the Komsomol, labor unions and other public bodies controlled by the Party, to regulate social relations. The substitute for the more coercive instruments of the state will presumably be the "voluntary" militia units that were formed in 1959 in most large industrial and agricultural enterprises, and the "comrades' courts." These courts are set up in industrial, educational and rural collectives as well as in apartment block units. They are people's courts rather than judicial courts. They can censure a person, levy small fines, recommend transfer of a person to more menial or lower paid work, require payment of damages and the like. The people's militia visit in their homes persons assigned to them for education. "In a number of instances on pay day," according to one Russian publication, "the members of the unit met the lovers of strong liquor at the pay office [and] escorted them home." These so-called instruments of persuasion are thus greater invasions of the privacy of persons than is true in societies where no attempt is made to gloss over the coercive nature of the state.

Significance of Khrushchev's Modifications

There is no doubt, however, that the leadership of the Soviet Union is making an obvious and determined effort to shift from reliance on the administrative instruments of the police state, such as were used so widely under Stalin, to a different type of social control. This shift from the administrative instruments of coercion to more controls imposed by units or agencies of the Party does not mean any abandonment of the monopoly of power by a one-party system or any fundamental diminution of control.

The significance to us of the doctrinal

modifications made by Khrushchev might be summarized as follows:

1) By abandoning the idea of the inevitability of war, and by asserting that coexistence is an indefinite policy rather than a temporary tactic, he has laid the groundwork for disarmament. In fact, he has made the achievement of total disarmament a strategic goal in the way no western state has done.

2) By going back to Lenin's idea of coexistence he has also re-emphasized the fact that disarmament and coexistence are to be viewed not as measures of peace in the sense of accommodation with the West, but as the means of more effectively waging non-military warfare against the West. Many western leaders, by failing to understand the real meaning of coexistence, thus assume that Communist subversive activity in the capitalist and colonial world is an indication the Soviet Union really doesn't want coexistence or disarmament on the larger international scene.

3) The abandonment of the more obvious methods of police terror are justified by the drive to achieve communism which in the Marxist sense implies the withering away of the State. The net result of this may well mean, paradoxically, a period both of greater freedom and also of more subtle and more pervasive controls until disarmament and other external factors result in further internal change.

4) The whole idea of coexistence therefore is based on the avoidance of major military warfare while intensifying the class struggle within the non-Communist world. It should be evident then that real or ultimate peace in the Communist view depends on the achievement of a particular economic and social organization of society under the leadership of a specific political party that transcends national boundaries. This concept thus makes the classic western approach to peace seem illusory. The classic approach is built on the State system and on the idea of a concert of powers. Thus the United Nations is the logical result of a similar idea in the League of Nations and in its older and less formal predecessor, the Concert of Europe. This concept accepts the existing state system and functions, as if in a game, by rules which are intended to preserve the equilibrium of power and thus permit orderly change to take place.

The UN as an Arena of Struggle

The Communist Party does not look upon the United Nations either as a concert of powers or as an international bridge between the Communist and capitalist camps. Rather, the United Nations is viewed as an instrument in which the class struggle might be waged without war. Seen in this light, the Soviet proposal to reorganize the United Nations with three Secretaries General is not the result of pique over recent actions of Mr. Hammarskjold but an effort to make the United Nations into a realistic image of the Communist interpretation of the present world scene where East and West are rivals and the neutralist prize is to be won by the more dynamic of the two camps.

5) Khrushchev's doctrinal modifications have been made without the concurrence of all the Communist countries. The disagreement between China and Russia about the matter of inevitability of war and indefinite coexistence reveals, among other things, the intensity of the Soviet conviction on coexistence and disarmament. But the serious doctrinal differences led Khrushchev on January 6, 1961 to declare that "It is impossible to lead all the Socialist countries and Communist Parties from any single center." This may mean, as Harrison Salisbury of *The New York Times* (January 29, 1961) pointed out, that Russia does not want to assume full responsibility for the policies of other parties, especially the Chinese, and wants to be free to continue her policy of negotiating with the West.

But in any event it is significant becaus

it means that there is no longer a single Communist ideology nor even just a second or Yugoslav ideology but at least three and probably more. This means that Marx's claim that he was providing a scientific basis and hence laws of development of history that have universal validity, is in itself open to question. Instead, communism is becoming increasingly related to national interest and hence is increasingly open to question as a dogma of universal validity.

Moreover, the Khrushchev policy of aiding neutralist states in competition with a similar American policy permits the underdeveloped nations to balance these two would-be-masters and hence, if they wish, to develop their own unique road to socialism. If they succeed in developing socialist societies along Indian, Indonesian, Cuban and other models, then the Yugoslav or revisionist doctrine that there are many roads to socialism will further undermine the monolithic nature of the world Communist movement and even reveal that it can be done by democratic political change and not only by violent and totalitarian rule.

The significant fact about communism is that it is not merely a philosophy but an approach to social change. Although it operates within a certain dogmatic framework, it is dynamic and constantly changing. In fact, it is really an ideology rather than a philosophy because it seeks to apply a theory of reality to changing historical circumstances. It is therefore not to be assessed only in the light of Lenin's or Stalin's day, but must be viewed in the context of today and tomorrow.

In this sense, communism must be viewed not so much as a dogma to be destroyed as a challenge to our own reluctant approach to change. If we encounter it with new and creative action of our own, it is not impossible to modify and change it. Surely the first step in such an encounter is to take seriously the new readiness of the Soviet Union to negotiate disarmament. Nothing could so modify internal totalitarianism or external hostility as a world without organized armed rivalry.

TO JOHN WOOLMAN, TAILOR

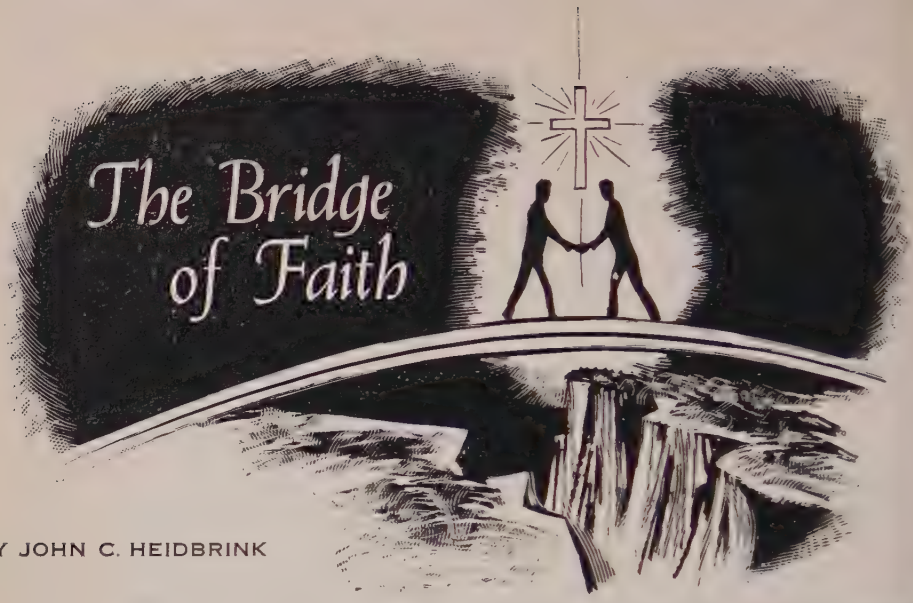
Plain words stitched plain, John Woolman, seem thee best,
Addressing kitchen maid or orderly,
Governor with ribbon-ruffled breast,
Bishop or wife or Negro slave as "Thee."

And I am tailoring with words, as you,
Though dealing mainly in repairs and patches
On elbows and seams ripped from hip to shoe,
Holes which the knees protrude through, thin as matches;

Yet to mend them wants more than stitch or thread,
The fabric being old and rotten, sewn
Upon a feeble corpse with lolling head:
Such coat will never warm the scarecrow's bone.

For this world's coat of raveled lace and braid
Was not, Friend, by thy lovely pattern made.

—Warren Kliewer



BY JOHN C. HEIDBRINK

IN 1954, THE SECOND ASSEMBLY of the World Council of Churches convened in Evanston, Illinois. This was the first time the contemporary Christian community was pressed to reckon with opposed concepts of Christ and His mission of reconciliation. For there were present in Evanston people who were living in countries where traditional concepts of churchmanship would not be tolerated. These people who had come to Evanston from East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, other Iron Curtain areas were saying that God could be served in Marxist lands. They were living testament to the fact that the church is called by God to stand on the ground of actual human life, of historical response to the truth which comes as an inescapable voice from God. This is to say that the ground of real life and history is the ground of the church living in the fullness of human interrelations.

It is easy to concentrate oneself on the abstract ideal of dogmatic systems, and it is easy to lose oneself in the currents of human life. It is, however, difficult to heed the challenge of the eternal truth, to relate it to personal consciousness and life, and, vice versa, to relate obediently all human personal and collective relations to that challenging truth.

George Kennan, in his book, *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin,* expresses a similar perspective:

> "Let us not repeat the mistakes of believing that either good or evil is total. . . . Let us remember that the great moral issues . . . cut across all military and ideological borders, across peoples, classes, and regimes, across, in fact, the make-up of the human individual himself. No other people, as a whole, is entirely our enemy. No other people at all . . . not even ourselves . . . is entirely our friend."

There are people living in the world today who are suffering the antagonisms of their fellow Christians and the tight surveillance of an alien government as they practice their faith and defend religious liberty while living under totalitarian domination. One of these is Joseph Hromadka, Dean of the Comenius Faculty of Theology in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

When Hromadka attended the 1954 Evanston Assembly, the United States government had him under watch, and various pseudo-patriotic groups in America hounded him. The accusation was basically that he continued to live in Czechoslovakia as a citizen, without engaging in blatant polemical invective in his day-by-day confrontation with Communists; hence he was categorized as a Communist sympathizer. In other words, Hromadka was an enemy of one section of society because he criticized its policies and values while living in the camp of the enemy. This living in the camp of the enemy was in itself considered tantamount to full acceptance of the enemy's objectives and methods.

How little his critics really knew about his life and his encounters at home in the land of the enemy! Because of what Hromadka stands for today in the life of faith as an outspoken member of the Christian community, I want to outline his witness and his convictions. I believe that the lives of people like Hromadka are calling the church to a life of reconciliation as love embraces the world and all of its people through the *acts* of faith by those who have been called to be a *bridge* of faith between the two worlds of our day. I am certain that the great test of the church as it is called upon to be the church in our time will be on this point—being the bridge between the East and the West. This test and the ability to bridge the races and accept all men within its life as brothers will decide its future.

Some Theological Reminders

The contemporary Protestant community has been working toward the rediscovery of the nature and mission of the church. There are, in its vocabulary of thought, some New Testament words which indicate the nature of the church as the Body of Christ: *kerygma,* that which is preached, the witness; *diakonia,* the loving service of being a servant *with* Christ in the world; *koinonia,* the fellowship. These words indicate functions. And these functions make it clear that the church is entirely different from an organized society of religious people who simply proclaim some kind of religious or moral ideas. The church follows its Lord, walks in his footsteps, and identifies itself with man wherever he may be—"in the empirical congregations, beyond sanctuary, or in the most hideous place of the world."[1] A member of the church, as many have pointed out besides Hromadka, has no right to look upon people in secular society as upon lost sheep with whom he has nothing in common. "He has rather to serve, to love and to lose himself in self-dedication and self-consecration."[2]

Hromadka relates, as others do in a traditional way, the substance and the function of the church to the threefold office of Christ—to his *prophetic, priestly,* and *Kingly* function. This is a call to the church to take upon itself the cross, forget about its rights and privileges, and lose itself in the company of sinners. Both Protestant and Catholic churches have very often developed into ecclesiastical institutions with an inner atmosphere of false security and a self-righteous, moralistic attitude to what exists beyond the boundary of the church.

Hromadka insists that the prophetic function of the church belongs to its very structure. The church is responsible to its Lord to proclaim clearly and fearlessly the will of God. Obedience to Christ, the walking in His Spirit, and the challenge to follow, to act in the spirit of love and righteousness, comprise the mission of any church.

> "The terrific catastrophe of our era (two World Wars) has also shaken the false self-satisfaction and self-complacency of the church and reminded it of its failures, negligences, tardiness, and laxness. The church did not speak when it ought to have spoken, did not call to penitence either its own members or the men responsible for human affairs. The church has readjusted itself to its surrounding milieu, to its social, moral, and political temper, to such an extent that it did not feel the urgency to speak for national, social, racial, and international justice, for poor, oppressed, neglected, underprivileged, forsaken people, before it was too late. At this point we find ourselves—wherever we are—in the same boat. None of us has any right to judge or condemn other men."[3]

There is an invisible line between the people of God and the world. And surely it is invisible; it is not in the hands of man to draw it according to human whims and prejudices. The church is, through its members, so closely associated with the life of the world that we never can indicate where the line runs. "The world rests and acts in our hearts, in our minds, in our actions."

Hromadka cautions his students that preaching may sound pious and biblical; but more frequently we use biblical phrases as a camouflage for our own ideas, interests, and intentions. If we are inclined to pass judgment upon the world, we must first pass judgment upon ourselves. The world is within us, inseparable from our life. For the real Church of Christ, there is no other

1 Joseph Hromadka, *Theology Between Yesterday and Today* (Philadelphia: Westminster 1957), p. 31.
2 *Ibid,* p. 31.
3 *Ibid,* p. 41.

way to carry on a prophetic message except in the way of taking upon itself the sins, failures, and blunders of the world. "We have to kill the very seed of self-righteousness and moralistic self-complacency."

But let us look at the problem from the other end. When we ask, "Where is the limit of our service in love and compassion?" we are not in a position to establish any point or perimeter where our service can end. Love, as the Gospel understands it, is never abstract, but ever concrete and real. It starts with our household, neighbors, and co-members in our churches. But it is beyond human limitations. Jesus walked at the margin of human society, cured lepers and cripples, ministered to the bruised of society and had compassion for the so-called enemy. He did not ask about dogmatic correctness, about church membership, about social decency, about whether they were believers or unbelievers. He saw the man, His brother, the son and daughter of His Father.

The Meaning of the Contemporary Era

Hromadka spoke at Knox College in Toronto, Canada in 1956. In his lectures, which have been preserved in a small book titled *Theology Between Yesterday and Today,* he forsees the end of the Christian Era, if there was a time in civilization when it was Christian or should have been. The world catastrophe beginning in 1914 and culminating in 1939-1945 was produced by ourselves, the so-called "Christian" nations —those which have traditionally been hospitable to the language if not the meaning of the Christian faith. We "Christian" nations have no right to blame anyone but ourselves for the last wars. We may try to excuse ourselves but we cannot escape our own responsibility for what has taken place since 1914. Is there then a certainty, Hromadka asks, that, provided "Christian" society should prevail over against communism, this "Christian" society would be free of contradictions within itself? Would it be a safeguard for the peaceful development of mankind? Are the "Christian" nations really secure against a new internal crisis which might plunge the world into a new catastrophe? In short, communism tests the authenticity of these nations' claim to be Christian.

We "Christian" nations are responsible for the death of ten million men in World War I and for the death of possibly fifty million men, women, and children, including millions of tortured and exterminated Jews, during World War II. How deep has the responsibility for the misery and predicament of the present era penetrated into our hearts and consciences? This, to Hromadka, is the most crucial question and the mark of this very question hangs over us.

Before we engage in a condemnation of non-Christian and anti-Christian peoples for the confusion, restlessness, and misery of our times, we have to take into consideration the terrifying history of our own responsibility and guilt. We cannot strongly enough underline moral and political, social and cultural failures of the nations of what we call Christian civilization. There is no way out of our crisis, Hromadka insists, unless we look penitently into the mirror of our own history.

We are finding ourselves within a radical secularization of life. The advance of science, rational education, technical invention, of film, television, radio, and air travel, of hygiene and medical knowledge have deeply affected all humanity. Our way of life and thought is undergoing profound changes. The human mind is rationally maturing and is more and more exposed to all the consequences of this progress, yet we have an uneasy feeling that our spiritual power is inadequate to cope with the results. There is a disproportion between our spiritual vigor and the energy of present-day science. Some few years ago Fulton J. Sheen, in his book, *Communism and the Conscience of the West*, said that Western Christians have truth but no zeal, have the light but no heat, have the ideal but no passion. He also questioned the existence and the strength of love in the heart of modern educated, civilized Christians. Hromadka points to his own experience: "The more we go to the East and meet men and women of the so-called Eastern countries, the more we are confronted with passionate convictions, warmth of heart, and joyful hope."[4]

---

4 *Ibid*, p. 57.

This is why we fear the dangers inherent in the atomic age. This is a result of divine providence and human ingenuity. Never fail to grasp—history warns—that the genius of destruction in all peoples everywhere has always been stronger, more inventive and skillful, than the genius of the normal, quiet, constructive life.

Hromadka believes that no ecclesiastical institution, no organized church effort (whether the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, or the Fellowship of Reconciliation) is a remedy against this new secularism. No artificially preserved religious institutions can possibly help. It seems that people in Communist countries are happy about the "museum" or ghetto type of church, the church as a sort of "native reservation," a folk religion adapted to a way of life without any threat or judgment to it. But this is not a real church. The question is: How can the church be a transforming power, something much more than a beautiful decoration of life? What ought we Christians to do? Hromadka states three points which recall the background from which we should attempt acts of reconciliation.

"1. My own theology is strongly molded by what we call the eschatological motive of the Biblical message: The God of Israel and of Jesus Christ as the sovereign ruler of the universe and of human history has (not we) the reins of our life in his hands, in the hands of grace and judgment. He is in our midst, in the most corrupted, cursed, and depraved places, in all the remotest corners of our earthly life, yes, even in our graves. He is standing at the end of history, he, crucified, risen, and victorious, extending his hands to every man: the Lord of judgment in grace, the Lord of grace in judgment. No matter how deeply we may be interested in the affairs of this world, we nevertheless look beyond history and any human ideology. Our perspective is the perspective of history.

"2. Our analysis is just *a human attempt* with all its weaknesses and limitations; an analysis subject to discussion within a fellowship of the church.

"3. No matter how limited our knowledge of human affairs and historical events may be, we have to take the profound revolutionary changes of our times seriously. The history of the last forty to fifty years is a disastrous revolution on a world scale. Are we ready to learn its lesson? We are living in an era of severe divine judgment; but for that very reason, in an era of divine grace and promise."[5]

Joseph Hromadka is now bucking the current of a Christian church which identifies itself with the country in which it resides. The national churches cannot understand the tensions which exist between the world and the Gospel of Love; the tendency is to label any tension, however fruitful it may be, as a disloyal act or attitude. Our greater loyalties are to nations and organized society from which we receive the bulk of our security. Therefore, if religion can be worked in as a secondary concern without disturbing the primary concern, then we will accept it. This misunderstanding of religious faith is precisely the specter of the contemporary religious crisis; the scandal of Christianity is the very fact that it calls the believer into tension with his society and defines loyalty to country as a secondary loyalty in the life of faith. Our history and our backgrounds have prepared us to dismiss this scale of loyalties as unnecessary fanaticism and irrelevant to the political realities of our day.

In the American church's encounter with the world, including meaningful discussion with those members of the Christian community who live in countries "outside the pale," let us not fail to appreciate the tensions between the life of faith and the world at home. If our own living does not include both the inconvenient conflict between love of truth and the truth of love and the resultant pain of addressing ourselves to our immediate society, then we have avoided the greater imperatives of the Gospel and its eternal dimensions. The community of faith and the institution of government, economic systems and values, provide the field of relationship with which the Christian is to be concerned. The judgment of truth is forfeited when the

5 *Ibid.*, p. 58, 59.

doers of truth fail in their attempts to bring it to bear on society, which includes people and ideas. Therefore, who among us has torn away the veil of security and left exposed the deceit and the lovelessness of a world gone bad? Those who do so ar riddled and bruised without mercy b those they threaten. It is oftentimes th very community of faith out of which the speak which sentences them.

A HEBREW ORATION

Friends and Teachers:

We live in a world full of hatred and fear,
  Of wars and rumors of wars.
There is war on the earth, beneath the surface of the water,
  In the vault of heaven and on the seas.
We have prepared for war but not for peace.
There will be death unless repentance,
  Lest we destroy the earth and everything upon it;
Lest we put to death both fish and bird,
  Cattle and the animals of the field.
Every garden will become a wilderness, and the rivers dry.
Then will every city be a waste, every fortress a reproach.
The moon shall fall from heaven, even the sun and stars.
Evil will prevail upon the land, till wickedness consume the world with fire.

At that time men will say, "Why did we prepare for war?
Why did we condemn the poor, why oppress the oppressed?
We were satisfied while they had no food,
  Only famine and plague.
We were happy and heard not the cries of their children.
Now we are sorry, but the time for weeping has come."

Now the servants of God are warning,
"Choose this day the way of war or of peace:
For if you prepare for war there shall be war,
But if you prepare for peace there shall be peace.
There is no peace without justice (righteousness),
  And no justice but from God.
Only the Lord can save us, and turn our sin to good.
Let your fear be the fear of the Lord,
  For with the Lord there is no fear.
Praise God, for he is with us, now and forever:
He will save us from destruction, if we trust in him."

—Richard W. Leavitt

NOTE: The original poem, of which the above is a translation, is modeled on classical Hebrew meters. The Hebrew original was read at the graduation exercise of the Harvard Divinity School in 1959.

Problems of Nonviolence

AN ARTICLE–REVIEW
BY WILLIAM ROBERT MILLER

CHRISTIAN ETHICS AND THE SIT-IN by Paul Ramsey. Association Press 1961. 128 pp., $2.50.

EVERY WORTHWHILE belief or idea deserves criticism, for the clash and confrontation of honest opinions is part of the process of discovering and examining truth. It is a sign of intellectual maturity and social relevance when an idea rises out of the realm of apologetics and propaganda and enters the arena of serious debate. It is Paul Ramsey's stated intention in this book to engage in "criticism and reflective examination" of nonviolent direct action in the struggle for racial equality.

Prof. Ramsey makes it clear from the outset that he has considerable respect for the integrity and motives of those who are engaging in efforts to change our society from a segregated one to one in which brotherhood may flourish. The task he sets out to perform is an avowedly conservative one of seeking to preserve equilibrium and to retain the good things that have grown slowly by tradition, in a period when pressure for needed radical change may threaten to sweep out the good along with the bad. He is concerned that "existing natural affinities" not be crushed under the steamroller of an "abstract arithmetical equality." These are indeed legitimate concerns and any revolution disregards them at its peril. Although Ramsey does not mention it, the Russian Revolution as described by such personalist writers as Buber, Berdyaev and Pasternak succumbed to just such a peril, wrenching out what was good in the bad old society and developing artificial and often inhumane social mechanisms to take their place in the new society. The cost was a vast amount of needless suffering, as in the forced collectivization of agriculture and the political heresy-hunts of the Stalin era.

It is in this spirit that Ramsey states the recurrent theme of this book: "In our fallen world there needs to be distance maintained between man and man, and protective restraints and remedies guaranteed the individual and his voluntary associations even against political encroachment by the champions of greater justice who . . . always share in the sinfulness sought in another of its forms to be repressed by law. . . . We say . . . that the claims of a unitive justice should not thoughtlessly be supposed always to override salutary distinctions in our law that serve the purpose of putting a distance between people and encouraging the growth of all sorts of groups in between government and people in the mass."

Ramsey makes a useful distinction between "order" and "justice" that is virtually identical with William Temple's distinction between "order" and "freedom," with Temple's caution that the former not be sacrificed to the latter lest chaos destroy both. Resistance to unjust laws should not be simply the prerogative of individual conscience but should be

conscientiously conscientious, having regard for the "conscience" of the law. To be valid, resistance must be both "justifiable" and "limited." In his concern for the relation of ends and means, Ramsey calls into question the gerrymandering of school districts to effect racial integration which, he asserts, should first be brought about within the neighborhoods themselves, and he enters a strong dissent against secondary boycotts that affect people remote from the focal point of injustice. One need not necessarily agree with him to recognize the pertinence of such criticisms. There is room in his conservatism for a clear endorsement of civil disobedience under certain conditions: "The duty to observe the law . . . has full force only where people of any race in our society effectively have the vote" and thereby access to normal procedures for securing justice. Those who deprive Negroes of the right to vote "cannot then with clean hands and a clean heart insist that they should still be law-abiding people. . . . The white people of this country can regard it as fortunate that the participants in the sit-in movement, as *direct action* which *may* be against the laws, so largely share in the tradition of 'law and order,' and that they are imbued with the spirit of charity in the tactical form of nonviolent resistance."

Ramsey's Brittle Abstraction

It is in his treatment of nonviolent resistance that Ramsey reveals serious flaws in his thinking. Although in other matters he has taken great care to make painstaking distinctions, he brusquely asserts that there is no ethical difference between violent and nonviolent resistance, but only tactical differences. His only reference to the dynamics of nonviolence is a brief quotation from Richard Gregg on "moral jiu-jitsu"; he nowhere comes to grips with the important spiritual element that comprises the heart of all theories of nonviolent action. This is a crucial neglect. "Only in an abstract world," says Ramsey, "can a significant distinction be made between resisting *discrimination* while not resisting or coercing the *people* who discriminate." The matter is not nearly so pat; one of the persistent problems in the tactics and strategy of nonviolence is *how* to focus sharply on the evil in a man so as to destroy it without inflicting damage to the man himself. Gregg deals with this problem in his book, and if Ramsey were fulfilling his task in this context, we would have the benefit of "reflective examination" here rather than a buckshot blast. By Ramsey's reasoning on this point, there is no significance between trying to wound a man so as to be able to take him prisoner (with the subsequent possibility of using persuasion), and shooting to kill. So often do critics dismiss pacifism *en bloc* as a brittle absolute that it is ironic to find so sensitive a critic as Ramsey hoist on his own petard.

It is a sound observation he makes, as Gregg and others have also done, that resistance of both violent and nonviolent types have their own economy of means and ends. To a military man it would be idiocy to use a battalion of artillery in a situation calling for a squad of infantry; to a nonviolent resister it would likewise be folly to mount a mass fast unto death in Washington for a routine discourtesy in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Both are excessive uses of coercion. But the *kind* of coercion is, in such a case, radically different. Because he refuses to recognize this distinction, Ramsey is able to put the picketing and boycott of Woolworth stores in the North, because of the refusal of Southern stores of the same chain to serve Negroes, on the same ethical plane with obliteration bombing of civilians in war. The similarities are obvious enough; any reasonable man will detect them. But the difference occasioned by the absence or presence of violence is literally a matter of life and death. To be sure, there are borderline cases of indirect violence such

(Continued on Page 32)

PEACE INFORMATION EDITION →

Normally, **Fellowship's** Peace Information Edition, published on the 1st and 15th of each month, is devoted to current news and comment. In this issue we present instead a photo story for which space could not otherwise have been found. The regular format of this Edition will be resumed with the next issue.

On the Road

nonviolent action for brotherhood at home and abroad

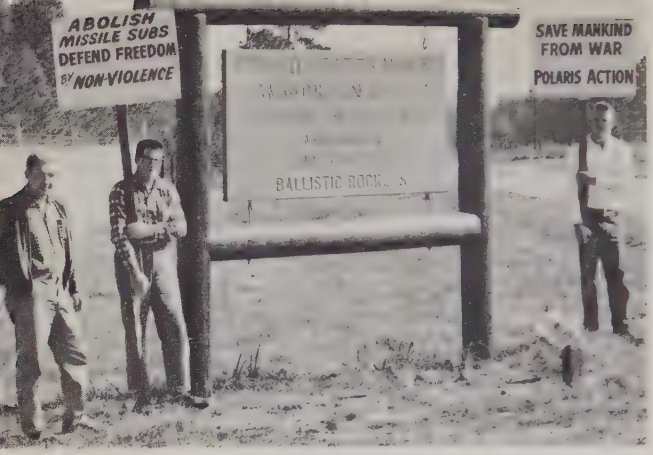
- **FREEDOM RIDE 1961**
- **WALK FOR PEACE:** San Francisco to Moscow
- **POLARIS ACTION**

FREEDOM RIDE 1961, successor to FOR-CORE 1947 "Journey of Reconciliation," became front-page news when an integrated team sponsored by Congress of Racial Equality met mob violence in Deep South in May. Above, FOR Councilmember Albert Bigelow views fire-bombed bus. Right, interior of bus, bombed near Anniston, Alabama. Below, savage beating of Jim Peck, longtime pacifist, was part of mob violence at Birmingham bus terminal. (Photos courtesy of CORE.)

SYMPATHY PICKETS of International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (below) were one consequence of Freedom Ride. Other developments included more Freedom Rides by students and clergymen, including one led by Yale Chaplain William Sloane Coffin, Jr., jailed for defying segregation.

SAN FRANCISCO—MOSCOW. Impelled by the need to speak of the urgent need for peace to governments and peoples alike, with their whole selves, pacifist walkers began the long trek from San Francisco to Moscow in January, reached New York in May, then flew to England for warm welcome at peace rally there (see cover).

ACROSS DESERTS and mountains, through teeming cities and in tiny villages, the Peace Walkers took their message. Their numbers swelled in the cities, shrank as they crossed the long miles between them, swelled again when they reached the East Coast. Jeered by some onlookers, listened to soberly by others, joined by still others, the Walkers were hopeful that they had stimulated some new thinking, at least. Trudging now across Western Europe, they hope they may be permitted to enter the Soviet Union. Urging their case was FOR Secretary-Emeritus A. J. Muste, sent to Moscow by the Walk's sponsoring Committee for Non-Violent Action.



POLARIS ACTION. Atomic-powered Polaris submarines can cruise submerged almost endlessly, launch H-bomb bearing missiles without warning from beneath the sea. Greeted enthusiastically by many Americans as an added "deterrent" to war, they seem to others another long step toward man's ultimate degradation and a new incentive to the already fast-paced arms race. CNVA-backed Polaris Action has involved many pacifists from New England and elsewhere in dramatic attempts to register their uneasiness and to encourage their fellow citizens to examine their own consciences. Polaris participants have picketed the New London, Connecticut, base of the Polaris subs by land and water, boarded the submarines themselves (and been nonviolently carted away), distributed leaflets and spoken in churches and on street corners. Some of them have been jailed, but the year-old Polaris Action continues.

CBR and DISARMAMENT

BY THEODOR ROSEBURY

A HUNDRED MILLION dollars or so is a drop in the bucket of our military budget, which is well over $40 billion. It was only in the carefully documented and very valuable report of Senator Humphrey's Subcommittee on Disarmament, dated Aug. 29, 1960, that I learned that the budget of the Chemical Corps for the fiscal year 1960 had been increased to $103.4 million. President Eisenhower recommended that they be given $133.8 million for 1961, a mere $0.7 million less than they asked for.

Only Harvard and Yale Universities, the system of Texas Universities and the Rockefeller Institute have endowments conspicuously bigger than the Chemical Corps' promised budget for the single year 1961. Two new medical centers, in West Virginia and in Kentucky, were opened last year at a cost of $27 million for each. We could have five such medical centers, including schools of medicine, dentistry and nursing, and associated hospitals and research laboratories, for the promised annual cost of chemical, biological and radiological weapons.

The special advantages of CBR, as the Chemical Corps seems to see them, are not directly concerned with their capacity for production of disability or death, even though they want us to know that this capacity is considerable. What the Army evidently thinks of as the particular virtue of CBR is conveyed by the word they keep repeating in this context. CBR, they say, is "humane." But their public-spirited attempt to relax secrecy far enough to give us this word stops short—for me, at least—at declassifying the secret of the word itself. They have not defined it, and I have patiently tried to discover its meaning in the way Chemical Corps spokesmen have used it. Let me give you a few representative examples. Lt. Gen. Trudeau, chief of research and development of Edgewood Arsenal Chemical Corps Center, was quoted in the press as having said "he would rather be gassed than shot" and "we don't shoot condemned criminals, we use the most humane means—gas." When the Chemical Corps proving grounds at Dugway, Utah, were opened to newsmen ever so slightly not long ago for a demonstration of the quick-killing "GB" nerve gas, Col. Joseph C. Prentice, director of the Army's orientation course in CBR said:

> "I'm an enthusiast over biological and chemical warfare. I think it's great stuff. It's more humane than anything else we've got."

The nearest thing I have found to an explicit statement on this point appears in the testimony of Maj. Gen. William M. Creasy, retired chief chemical officer, at hearings of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics in June 1959. The following colloquy appears on page 17:

> "Mr. ANFUSO. Can we reduce your testimony to this point that biological and chemical warfare is just as deadly if not more deadly than nuclear warfare?

General Creasy. I would not let you reduce it that much, but I will say they can be as deadly or deadlier than nuclear warfare, but they are capable of being tailored to the target and to the requirement. They need not be other than harassing, debilitating or sick-producing.
The Chairman (Mr. Brooks). Therefore, it is more humane?
General Creasy. Much more humane. In fact, it is humane and the others are not at all humane."

A further clue to the exact shade of meaning Gen. Creasy intends in the word "humane" may be gleaned from some of his earlier comments at the same hearings. On page 4, after describing the experiment in which a hallucinating agent enabled a mouse to chase a cat, he mentioned the restrictions on the use of human volunteers in such experiments, and said:

"I personally object to the phrase human volunteers, because I don't know personally any other animal than a human that can volunteer."

I gather that Gen. Creasy does not associate "humane" with "human." A little further along, explaining why German orders to use their nerve gas against our troops in Normandy on D-Day were not carried out, Gen. Creasy said (p. 12):

"They were not used because by some mischance or meddling with Hitler's intelligence people he was informed we were in a position of retaliating overwhelmingly. Of course, we were not."

In the whole context are we to gather that "mischance or meddling" prevented Hitler from performing a humane act?

Are the Soviets Working on CBR?

So much for "humane." The second point stressed in the Army's campaign is that we have to match Russian efforts in CBR. We are inclined to accept this idea without question, since the USSR is obviously not shy in weapons development. Maj. Gen. Marshall Stubbs, the Army's chief chemical officer said this in May 1959:

"Soviet microbiologists and military authorities have conducted BW tests at an isolated location over a long period of time . . . [and] research and development leading to large-scale production and storage of disease producing and toxic agents."

This statement seems convincing enough, and we would not be inclined to ask for documentation which might properly be secret. But the Army insists on giving us elaboration; so we read on. The valuable Humphrey report makes the interesting point that field testing is the one aspect of BW that may be relatively hard to hide (p. 37):

". . . whereas [BW] research and development are extremely difficult to detect, production and field trials would be harder to conceal because these involve 'both large-scale operations capable of handling large quantities of highly dangerous materials and proving grounds located in areas of the country where, if infection got out of hand, it could be controlled.' "

This suggests that our intelligence or the testimony of defectors might be expected to reveal the existence of such facilities in the USSR, but instead of giving us such evidence, the Army offers a series of vague or irrelevant statements that actually introduce doubts where none existed before. General Stubbs himself, after making the statement quoted previously, added the opinion of a Red Army officer:

"that their scientists regard research on the action of poisons and on development of antidotes to be their patriotic duty."

This seems to me in no way incriminating. Many quoted statements accuse Russians of being "interested" in BW. Well, so am I; but I'm not working in the field. Again the most straightforward and complete statement on this subject is in the Humphrey report, in which section V is labeled "The Soviet Union and CBR Warfare." The context makes the point convincingly that chemical warfare has been developed extensively by the Soviet Army. There is nevertheless this remarkable statement, attributed to a former Soviet officer (Col. Pozdnyakov):

". . . that Soviet chemical units were sent to the front in the early months of [World War II] but were not allowed to use even smoke screens for fear the Germans might use these as a pretext for accusing the Soviets of using toxic gas."

As for BW, the Humphrey Subcommittee's painstaking researchers were able to find only statements like this one made by the U.S. Army:

"The potential value of the weapon systems is well known to the Communists and all available information points with certainty

to the fact that the Soviets have a stronger capability to wage a chemical and biological attack than the United States and its allies. Further they have a will to wage such an attack and have stated so openly on many occasions."

Official pronouncements tend toward gobbledegook. Mark Twain could have had fun with "all available information points with certainty to the fact that. . . ." If we really knew, would we have to say it so many times? And as for "stated so openly on many occasions," one assumes that the conscientious Subcommittee researchers would have looked for an example or two. They give none; nor have I found one in any of the statements of official spokesmen.

In the rest of this section and elsewhere in the Humphrey report, the work of a Subcommittee headed by one of our ablest senators, we find nothing more convincing. A statement of Marshal Zhukov, made in 1956, is cited:

> "'A future war,' he said, 'should it be unleashed, will be characterized by the massive use of air forces, various rocket weapons, and various means of mass destruction such as atomic, thermonuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.'"

I have seen the same quote in another place, but in neither does the context make clear to me anything about Soviet actions or intentions. I have the impression rather that Marshal Zhukov, like our own generals and many others, thinks that if World War III happens it won't be a picnic. There follows, in the Humphrey report, remarks on Soviet civil defense, in which CW and BW have evidently been taken into account. There is nothing else.

Despite tremendous advances in the biological and medical sciences in recent years, many of them based on the increasing use of precise quantitative methods, there has been little improvement in our understanding of infectious disease, especially as it occurs in human populations. There are outstanding exceptions, like poliomyelitis. But a more typical example among naturally occurring diseases is perhaps that of staphylococcal infections in hospitals. One has only to know this story to realize that here we are not much less helpless today than were the doctors who faced hospital disease in the time of Semmelweiss and the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes. For BW the problem is further complicated by the absence of data on human populations: large-scale BW in its modern form has never been used in war. Field tests of such weapons, using as targets mechanical samplers or caged mice or goats tied to stakes, cannot hope to answer the most important questions about the results of BW attacks on human populations.

We are concerned mainly with the airborne dissemination of BW agents highly infective for man—large-scale. BW. It is obviously this that the Chemical Corps has in mind when it makes or approves statements like these:

> "One B-52 bomber could easily disperse infective doses of a BW agent in the form of an aerosol over an area of many thousands of square miles." (From the ACS Committee report, October 1959.)
>
> "Ten carriers—planes or missiles—each carrying 5 tons of dry biologic agents could mount such an attack and they would not have to fly at tree-top levels but could fly at high altitudes and drop packages which would open at lower levels and disperse their contents. With 10 carriers, employing a line attack, General Stubbs said he thought a potential enemy could get at least 30 percent casualties in the United States." (Humphrey report, p. 37.)

I have estimated myself, on a basis of practicable concentration and agent survival values, that one bomber with a 10-ton payload might contaminate an area twice the size of Manhattan Island with enough material, perhaps, to infect every-

one who breathed the cloud for a minute or so.

But these are all wild guesses, heavily dependent on the vagaries of epidemiological ignorance and meteorological errors. A shift of wind or weather, increasingly unpredictable with increasing distance from the predictor, might disperse or dilute the cloud or keep it aloft, so that it might fail entirely to reach its intended target but might instead either be returned to the sender or "remain alive for long periods and ultimately fall anywhere." Or if it achieved its immediate effect it might, intentionally or not—unpredictably—induce communicable disease which, augmented by wartime dislocation of public health facilities, could conceivably go on to worldwide catastrophe passing beyond control. I do not assert that the probability of such an event is high, but only that nobody can measure it, because nobody knows. The possible consequences of large-scale BW range unpredictably from something close to zero—fiasco—to something close to infinity.

I submit that sanity can find no advantages in this kind of war. It is a travesty to speak of it as "humane." It is my carefully considered judgment that what the Russians may be doing with it is irrelevant in terms of our own plans, if we have them, for its offensive use. BW is too dangerous to play with. We have weapons enough without it. We ought to abandon it—not just "testing" but all aspects of it other than those that could and should be entrusted to non-secret public health research and development. If we were to disarm in BW unilaterally, as I suggest, I think it likely that Britain and Canada would follow suit with vast relief. And possibly this first step, which would cost us nothing and gain us millions of dollars and much worldwide respect, would be a snowball over the edge to start the avalanche of world disarmament.

THE PROSPECTS FOR "CBR" DISARMAMENT

"As to the possibility of fashioning an acceptable, workable disarmament plan as far as chemical-biological-radiological weapons are concerned, the characteristics of these agents—especially chemical and biological agents—will make this difficult to accomplish. Inspection processes would probably leave more gaps than in the case of nuclear weapons because there are more ways of delivering CB weapons than nuclear weapons.

"Inspection processes today would be likely to be more concerned with nuclear weapons since these offer the principal threat; however, this situation may change in a few years. This possibility—even probability—of an increase in the threat from CBR warfare points to why it becomes more difficult, from the technical standpoint, to arrive at satisfactory disarmament measures as time passes. The longer it takes to reach agreement, the greater the difficulties caused by the proliferation of weapon systems and the increase in the number of countries which have access to mass destruction weapons.

"Since there will probably always be some aspects of CBR warfare which do not lend themselves to effective surveillance, parties to any arms control or limitation agreement will need to be prepared to accept some degree of risk. The more determined the parties to the agreement were to make it work, the less the risk would be; in fact, no disarmament plan is likely to work well—regardless of the effectiveness of its inspection system—in the absence of a favorable climate of international good intentions."

—from "Chemical-Biological-Radiological (CBR) Warfare and Its Disarmament Aspects," a study prepared by the Disarmament Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, August 29, 1960.

THE IMAGE OF THE CROSS

A MEDITATION

J. B. PRIESTLY, the British novelist, mentions in conversation with friends his experience immediately following the war when he visited Coventry with its bombed-out cathedral. He describes his visit to the roofless ruin in these words:

> "We stepped into light instead of the familiar ecclesiastical dusk. The city outside had vanished and was forgotten. There was nothing but this ruin, rosy but indefinitely solemn, and the vast pearl of the afternoon. It was very strange, very beautiful. In some such roofless glowing place, under some desert sky but yet with these familiar symbols about them, the early Christians might have worshipped. We moved forward, slowly, not talking, making as little sound as possible. And then it was not only strange and beautiful but also deeply moving. Feelings I had ceased to credit myself with were now profoundly stirred. Behind the large black cross, made out of charred wood, there had been carved in stone the two simple words: 'Father, Forgive.' That was all and it was quite enough. If there is a nobler war memorial than this ruined cathedral, one that drives harder at that shell of chicanery, hypocrisy, or self-deceit in which we encase our hearts, I have yet to see it. Father Forgive! And outside in the streets they were selling the papers that told the same old story of indifference, drift, mischief, prejudice, passion, and blind idiocy."

In a similar episode involving the cross as one of the symbols of the religious life, Philip Mairet in *The Frontier* of June 1950 recalls a situation which reveals a different reaction:

> "Just about ten years ago, a young French workman was hurrying into the country out of an industrial town which was swarming like an overturned ant-hill. A compatriot of another class, also fleeing from the invaders, got into a conversation with him; and as they passed a wayside crucifix the young laborer inquired: 'What is that?' He had no idea, and it was no light task to enlighten him, for this inhabitant of a factory area in a cathedral-conscious France turned out to be as totally ignorant of religious knowledge of any kind as many of his opposite numbers in Britain are said to be."

It does not seem to be irrelevant to say that the cross is no longer regarded as an essential ingredient in human life. In one instance one man looks upon the cross and wonders what it is; it awakens no movement of thought within him regarding an eternal truth. He may have already known the tortures of living under the yoke of oppression as a citizen of one country; his participation in life may have thrown him into the cross-currents of tension and conflict. But he does not recognize the cross as a symbol of the eternal way for him who decides a course of action. He knows nothing of a person whose life ended on the cross nor of the life that was begun on the cross.

The situation with Mr. Priestly is different. He is aware of the conflict that results from a decision to live within the structure of faith, faith in the omnipotent character of Love as the clue to existence and the bridge between the Divine and the Human. But when Mr. Priestly sees the blackened cross and the carved words, a flash of understanding takes place. Somehow he sees the cross related to existence itself. The strange man nailed to it uttering the words of forgiveness and compassion lays bare the fake thinness and follies of human life and yet in laying them bare heals them.

Mankind's destiny, as one man has said, is not to be eternally at cross-purposes with himself and his fellows, his world and his God. Rather, through the One who was willingly shattered and absorbed by the very wood of the cross itself, there have come the possibility and the hope of restoration, reconciliation, reintegration. How can we meet the dilemmas of the religious witness today except as we bring together into meaningful relationship the cross in human life, the cross in the experience of man and the cross in the experience of God?

—JOHN C. HEIDBRINK

Nonviolence On a New Orleans Picket Line

The author, a white, 19-year-old sophomore at Sophia Newcomb College was arrested on the same picket line two days after this article was written. She was charged with "obstructing traffic" and is free on $1,000 bail.

On Saturday, April 15, about noon, I was picketing close to the outside edge of the sidewalk in front of McCrory's on Canal Street when a white lady about 50 years of age, stopped and asked me if I was a member of "that nigger" organization (i.e. CORE). I answered, "Yes ma'am" and continued walking. She followed close beside and at times behind me for about three lengths of the store, shouting questions and accusations at me. I remember her asking me if I knew what I was doing, and if I knew what Japan, China, Russia and Cuba were doing.

My refusal to answer must have annoyed her, because she began shoving and pushing me. She tried to knock my sign down, but I lifted it up again and tried to keep walking. Then she pushed me against a parked car, kicked me, and hit me around the shoulders and body with her purse and her hands. This time I relinquished my placard. She put it on the roof of the car and before I could regain my balance, she began pushing and hitting me again. All the time she was screaming insults at me.

When she realized she was not making much headway, she took the sign from atop the car and, rushing into the street, she threw it in front of a moving car. The car stopped and the bewildered driver got out. During this time the lady had quickly and prudently removed herself from the scene. I had regained my balance but I was a little dazed and could not decide on a course of action, but my picket mate, Pat Smith, told me to take her sign while she recovered mine. She did so, and we continued picketing. Soon the crowd that had formed to watch the incident dispersed and the traffic cleared.

No one in the crowd had offered assistance to the lady or to us, probably because the action had taken place so quickly. The incident must not have taken over three or four minutes.

I had first picketed only a week before and, although I had been hit on one occasion and had taken many insults and accusations, I had not yet had a chance to apply the technique of nonviolence. I had heard much about it and I thought it would be very difficult to be nonviolent in such a situation. However, all I had time to think about was keeping on my feet and keeping my arms down. I had no time to strike back, either in anger or in self-defense. I was helped by the knowledge that my picket mate Pat was with me and would come to my assistance, in a nonviolent way, if necessary. I hope that the people in the crowd were affected in some way by the sight of a nonviolent CORE member being roughed-up by a screaming, nearly hysterical woman of the type familiarized to the entire country by the TV coverage of the school desegregation crisis here. Fortunately, her blows were mostly ineffectual and I was able to continue picketing that afternoon.

Least understandable part of the episode was the behavior of the police. A policeman and a policewoman were stationed across the street, apparently to direct traffic. It is difficult to believe that they did not notice the activity on the opposite sidewalk. However, whether they saw the incident or not, they failed to investigate even after they had been informed of it about fifteen minutes later by Bob Heller, another CORE member. Later in the day, I was routinely questioned by a policeman about picketing. This was not a result of

the incident; the police department questions all pickets nearly every day. This policeman asked me if I was aware of the regulations concerning picketing—do not stop walking, do not speak to anyone, and do not molest anyone. He then made the ironic remark that if we obeyed these regulations, "the police department would be right with us all the way."

—Connie Bradford

Serving in Africa

I have now lived in one small corner of Africa for less than four years, so I am not really qualified to say very much about Africa. However, since this is not for general consumption, but by way of a chat with old friends, I shall take the risk of giving a few random hints to anyone who may think of coming to Africa.

Of course, each territory has its peculiar problems. Some are more, some less "advanced" (what a question-begging term!), there are many different degrees of apartheid and the variety of social life is infinite. But I think that what I am going to say will be relevant for quite a large part of Africa.

Let us begin with the color question. The only thing to do with this is to forget it. I take it for granted that as a reader of *Via Pacis* you are quite free of any prejudice of race or skin. But if you go into Africa saying, either aloud or to yourself, "I will not practice apartheid," then there is something wrong, and Africans will be quick to notice it. If you are scrupulously careful about having the right proportion of black faces in any gathering, then you may be upset to find that your nobility is not appreciated. Why? Because this sort of thing shows that you are just the same as Verwoerd and Co., thinking of a man in terms of his color. However, if you *are* like this for the first few weeks, don't worry too much. Provided your heart is in the right place, you will soon get over it!

Keeping Things in Perspective

Some Europeans are so horrified by Verwoerd and Co., that they rush off to the other extreme and imagine that there is some special virtue in a black skin. If you do harbor this strange delusion, please try to keep quiet about it: Africans will only think that you are either insincere or soft in the head! Not that such a delusion can possibly last more than about three weeks. After, say, three months, you might even begin to think that Verwoerd and Co., have a point. This is the time, when you are frustrated by inefficiency, scandalized by corruption, horrified by cruelty and disheartened by unresponsiveness, to try out the therapeutic effects of historical research. Travel back to 1800 (from some starting-points the journey may not be really necessary) and find out what your own country was like to live in then. Take a pair of scales. Pile up in one pan every African abomination you can think of. Then put Belsen and Hiroshima in the other one and see what happens. Stand in the shoes not only of an African friend, but of his father and his grandfather; look out of their eyes into the eyes of such Europeans as have condescended to come near enough, and then ask yourself if you do well to be surprised if your friend is a little hesitant about you. Of course, he and his forbears have looked into honest and friendly eyes, but you must not complain if it is the others he remembers.

Don't be a missionary. Missionaries are out, both clerical and lay. Some missionaries will know what I mean. Come to Africa for fun, come for adventure, come to learn something, come to advance yourself, come because you are asked to—but don't come to do good to the poor Africans. Of course, you *are* going to do good (or at any rate try to), and many Africans are indubitably poor, (Some of them are rich and

"... every article, every review is of interest to Christians"

—*The Christian Century*

† CROSS CURRENTS

a quarterly review to explore the implications of Christianity for our times

edited by Catholic laymen; $3.50 a year

5 REPRINTS FREE for NEW SUBSCRIBERS

reprints also available @ 25¢ ea., 5 for $1

☐ MOUNIER: Faith & Civilization; ☐ GUARDINI: The Legend of the Grand Inquisitor; ☐ TILLICH: Jewish Influences on Protestant Thought; ☐ BUBER: The Political Principle; ☐ WATKIN: Unjustifiable War; ☐ WEIGEL on Tillich; ☐ LEONARD: The Christian & the Non-Christian; ☐ BRUNNER: The Christian Sense of Time; ☐ BERDYAEV on Boehme; ☐ DOMENACH: Priest-workers in France; ☐ DELOS: Sociology of Modern War; ☐ BURGELIN: Protestant & Catholic Psychology; ☐ CONGAR: Reform in the Church; ☐ BONACINA: The Church & Modern Democracy; ☐ JULIEN: The Cuban Revolution; ☐ CHENU: Is the Modern World Atheist?; ☐ VERWILGHEN: The Church under Communism; ☐ ARENDT: Totalitarian Imperialism; ☐ MENDE: Underdeveloped Countries; ☐ MANNONI: The Negro's Protest

CROSS CURRENTS
West Nyack, N. Y.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone.. State.....

☐ Enter my subscription for 1 year (3.50) ☐ 3 years ($9.)

☐ Send reprints checked above

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me

quite a few are much cleverer than you are.) And you are, in fact, going to do them good just because they are poor. All right; there's nothing wrong in that. But don't *make* the connection: just let it happen, like a reflex. Don't say it, don't think it. "I was hungry and you gave me meat" is the music of heaven; but "you were hungry and I gave you meat" is a devil's discord and ears of all shades find it unendurable.

Don't be afraid to criticize. Part of your work will consist in putting right things that are wrong, and you will often need to *say* that they are wrong. You will certainly say it to your European colleagues (and Africans know quite well the sort of thing that Europeans say about them), so say it to Africans as well. I don't mean that you are not to be tactful, or that you are not to try to take into account all the circumstances. This is what you would do anywhere and with anyone. But if you think to yourself, even unconsciously, "What else can I expect?," then you are dehumanizing your African just as surely as Verwoerd and Co.

If you, yourself, are criticized, don't assume that it is because you are white; you may actually be wrong. Don't be surprised if disapproval is sometimes carried rather far. If you live in a suburban setting with most of the amenities and with hundreds of other white people around, it will be appallingly easy to live almost the same kind of life that you lived at home. This would be a very great loss for *you*. In this kind of environment you will have to make a real effort if you are ever going to be anything more than an expatriate. It means giving up old habits and acquiring new ones; sacrificing well-tried pleasures for the sake of growing into strange ones. It means learning a few words at least of an African tongue. It may involve a measure of physical discomfort; but if, in the end, you can begin to share a little in the life of an African family, you will soon see how God repays our smallest efforts. And what would a Christian be doing in Africa, or anywhere for that matter, if he did not want to belong? —HAROLD GUITE

—Reprinted from *Via Pacis*, European youth magazine of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

The Sword of State

SOLDIERS AND GOVERNMENTS, Michael Howard, editor. Indiana Univ. Press 1959. 192 pp., $3.

There is almost a universal quality about the relationship of military leaders to civil authority. Military leaders grasp at more and more power and only a strong civil authority is able to restrain them. The power they seek takes many forms including large budgets, large conscript armies, and in many instances dominance or control of the whole government. "Safety from external danger," wrote Alexander Hamilton (quoted in this book), "is the most powerful director of national conduct. Even the ardent love of liberty will, after a time, give way to its dictates."

Here are nine studies in civil-military relationships, all written by men associated with English universities. The weakest chapters in the book deal with military influence in Great Britain and the United States, whereas "The Military Domination of Japanese Policy 1931-1945" is both a lucid and accurate picture of Japanese military influence.

The chapter on Russia describes the role of the military from the times of the Tsar through the revolution and down to 1956. The military during the Communist period has been more completely subject to civil control via the Communist party than is true of any other civil-military relationship in the same period.

The relationship of the officer group in Germany to the rise of Hitler has been clearly established and some of their activities are detailed in the chapter on Germany. It is clear that "the Army leaders, by their intrigues and their deep rooted antipathy to parliamentary government, prepared the way first for a series of non-parliamentary semi-dictatorial governments ruling through the authority of the President, and finally for an entirely despotic government which destroyed the political parties, Parliament and the Constitution."

The Latin-American study points to the influence of the professional officer class and indicates it "is still the major road to power." Only in Costa Rica, Uruguay, and Chile has its influence been negligible or aloof from politics.

BOOKS

The major weakness of the book is the study of civil-military relations completely as an internal state problem. There is no mention of the influence the United States Army has had with military groups in Latin America nor of American military influence upon other governments. Only passing reference is made to the prewar influence of the German army upon the Japanese government.

In spite of such weaknesses, this is an important contribution to the study of civil-military relationships since it sets forth in one volume the problem as it relates to nine different governmental structures.

It is worth closing with the aphorism of Lord Salisbury which is quoted in the book: "If you believe the doctors, nothing is wholesome; if you believe the theologians, nothing is innocent; if you believe the soldiers, nothing is safe. They all require to have their strong wine diluted by a very large admixture of insipid common sense." Without such dilution the military would create a garrison state everywhere. They have succeeded all too often in history after subordinating civil power to their security demands.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

In Darkest Sicily

TEN PAINS OF DEATH by Gavin Maxwell. Dutton 1960. 272 pp., $5.

"We poor must suffer if we want to live. . . ."

"When the babies cry for bread and there is none to give them, a man must steal." Indeed the mass of the peasants of Sicily do suffer. And not only do they steal, they scavenge, they resort to prostitution, they kill.

In *Ten Pains of Death* Gavin Maxwell paints a bleak picture made bearable for the reader by its vivid descriptions of the quaint and rigid customs of courtship and marriage and of the colorful harvest and *festa* activities. The story is well-told in the words of fishermen and other peasants with whom Maxwell lived and worked.

This book gives a clear understanding of some of the acute problems confronting Sicilians. In a land where 47% of the people are completely or semi-destitute and child labor is prevalent, the struggle to get the basic necessities of life is a grim and endless one, making life barren and crude and driving the people to throw themselves for solace on blind devotion to the very tradition, superstition and religion that have been in a measure responsible for their difficulties.

Failure to face and solve basic problems has caused them to become progressively more serious and the people more desperate. The great mass of the people live in disease and filth without even the ability to read and write, since few go beyond second or third grade. Eighty percent of the men of Castellammare del Golfo have been in prison. Many women are driven to prostitution to support their families despite a very strict moral code for women. Thoughts are filled with sex tradition, and religious forms and express themselves very frequently through obscenities and interminable songs.

It is difficult to conceive such destitution in a land of rich cultural heritage located so favorably for both aesthetic appreciation and communication with other peoples. Yet upon investigation one finds a complicated maze of causes: a feudal land system such as was done away with some 600 years ago on the continent of Europe, the ever-present, terrifying Mafia, a church more interested in forms and self-aggrandizement than in helping its communicants to the "more abundant life," great depletion of resources, ignorance and lack of know-how, lack of industry, government corruption and inefficiency, lack of leadership. . . .

Fortunately there are constructive and creative indigenous moves afoot to apply modern methods and principles in helping the people correct these conditions. The efforts of Danilo Dolci and of UNLA are outstanding examples. Such books as *Ten Pains of Death* serve to tug at our heartstrings and to move us to share our wealth, our prayers, and our personal efforts.

—Gelston McNeil

THE CAUSES OF WORLD WAR THREE

by C. Wright Mills

One of the most important books on the "military metaphysic" behind the nuclear arms race. Included here are Mills' program for peace and his famous "Pagan Sermon to the Christian Clergy."

Paperback 50¢

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Box 271, Nyack, New York

Dolci Among the Bandits

Outlaws by Danilo Dolci. Orion Press. 1961. 296 pp., $4.95.

As in his earlier book, *Report from Palermo*, few of the words in *Outlaws* are Dolci's own. For one chapter, he has two Sicilian fishermen tell the story of Borgo di Dio which he founded in Trappeto; in another there are twenty pages of essays written by the bandits of Partinico. Even Dolci's own journal of some 43 pages is filled with quotations from other people—interviews, letters, records of conversations, etc. A chapter about Dolci's trial consists of documents, testimony and little else.

The book is a rather diffuse collection of material, not a sustained account. The reader is left athirst for a full-scale chronicle of events, a rounded study of Dolci's work either by Dolci himself or by someone else. It is to be hoped that such a book will be written before much longer.

Meanwhile, and taking it for just what it is, *Outlaws* is a remarkable document which gives a many-hued picture of conditions in Sicily and, what is more, some glimpses of the work Dolci has done and is doing there to plant the seeds of a new life. Within a few pages, Dolci tells of four persons killed by police using tear gas against a crowd of poor people demonstrating in front of the town hall, reports on the Mafia's illegal fishing, records a conversation in which children under twelve tell him about prison-like punishments at school, and mentions, in passing, "The children asked to hear Vivaldi's 'The Seasons' again. They never get tired of it. They are never tired of 'Erbarme dich, Mein Gott'

rom Bach's Saint Matthew Passion, ither."

Elsewhere you will find Dolci's insistence n nonviolence, and you will find the tes- imony of such men as Elio Vittorini and Carlo Levi as given at Dolci's trial. All of t is well worth reading more than once. f you have the patience to watch the pieces of this mosaic-like book fit them- selves together as you read through it, you will emerge with a portrait of one of the most extraordinary men of our time, and you will understand why he has been called variously "the Gandhi of Sicily" and "a modern St. Francis." —W.R.M.

Einstein's Quest

EINSTEIN ON PEACE, ed. by Otto Nathan and Heinz Norden. Simon and Schuster 1960. 704 pp., $8.50.

It is one of the colossal ironies of history that it was an erstwhile pacifist who, more than any other individual, made possible the development of the atomic bomb that was used for the slaughter of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. No one would deny that Albert Einstein was a man of courage, honesty and gentleness. From the day he signed a peace manifesto in 1914 to the eve of World War II, Einstein was known to the world as a war resister. Like Bertrand Russell, who contributes a brief foreword to this volume, Einstein could see no alternative to the use of military force against the Berlin-Tokyo Axis, but later repentantly threw his weight into the campaign to ban the bomb he had helped to develop.

In this book, two of his former colleagues have woven together, with their running commentary, all of Einstein's writings on peace, as a pacifist, as a man who hoped that the war against fascism would result in a stable world government, and as a nuclear pacifist and world federalist. The last sentence Einstein penned before he died was a plea for sanity and "supranational security" as "the only course that holds out any promise of peace." Although an admirer of Gandhi, Einstein attributed the latter's death to his refusal of "personal armed protection," yet a month later declared himself against UMT because of its undermining effect on the democratic spirit and its tendency to "intensify the danger of war."

This book faithfully chronicles Einstein's quest for a better world and reveals the mind of a troubled and sincere man.

W.R.M.

The Corruption of Power

POWER AND MORALITY by Pitirim A. Sorokin and Walter A. Lunden. Porter Sargent 1959. 206 pp., $3.50.

Beginning with an examination of various views on a ruling elite the authors proceed to a careful analysis of the morality and mentality of rulers. Their study, for example, shows a much higher rate of crimes among rulers of states around the world than is true of the general population. "Very roughly estimated the percentages of the rules guilty in committing the crimes against property are between some 10 to 35 per cent; against persons (except murder and manslaughter) between 20 and 50 per cent; sex offences between 15 and 60 per cent; against good mores, between 10 and 55 per cent. If we decrease these percentages ten, twenty, or fifty times, they will still be far greater than those for the total populations. . . ."

This book is a valuable contribution to the study of power. Unfortunately it does not present any new solution to the problem. The book is largely free from sociological jargon although some has crept into the last few chapters. It is therefore of value to laymen as well as sociologists.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

Briefly Noted

This is What We Found by Ralph and Carl Creger (Lyle Stuart 1960. 64 pp., $2.) is a good-sized pamphlet, dressed out in the

style and price of a small book. In it, a white citizen of Little Rock, Arkansas, has expanded his son's high school composition on the history of the Negro in America into a highly readable and balanced account. Barely ten pages are devoted to the Supreme Court decision, the 1957 "Battle of Little Rock" and the father-and-son team's feelings about the future of race relations. Although by no means the best book in its field, its authorship and tone will make it particularly serviceable as a vehicle for communicating with white Southerners.

A Book of Public Prayers by FOR member Harry Emerson Fosdick (Harper 1959. 191 pp., $3.) makes available for the first time in book form a collection of Dr. Fosdick's pulpit prayers and litanies. In more ways than one, it is a godsend for busy ministers. Open the book at random: on every page there is a warm piety and a prophetic leaven that contrast refreshingly with the brittle brimstone or the oozing sweetness of the prevalent cults of pseudo-orthodoxy and salvation-through-success. In his eighties, this reverent voice of the free church still has something to say that is worth repeating.

A New Peace Play

PEACE ON MARS, A Play in One Act, by Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Baker's Plays, 100 Summer Street, Boston 10, Mass. 35 pp., 50¢.

This is a short drama about a visitor from Mars who reports the rejection of war there and the acceptance of love as the method for settling disputes. He first shows himself to Abie, a friendly irenic farmer, the son of Adam and Eva and brother of a young woman Seth. Abie's brother, Ken, a member of the armed forces, distrusts the heavenly visitor, argues with him and shoots at him. In doing so he kills his own brother Abie and is driven from the house by Adam.

It is a modern parallel to the Genesis story with an important message to all in the nuclear age.

—JOHN M. SWOMLEY JR.

LIFE OF EVELYN UNDERHILL
by Margaret Cropper
The biography of a revered spiritual counselor, distinguished author and member of the British FOR.
Clothbound $3.75
FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS
Box 271, Nyack, New York

PROBLEMS OF NONVIOLENCE

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 16)

as a blockade of shipping which comes close to borderline cases of nonviolent action such as mass boycott, and a critical evaluation of them might be very fruitful. But this is not what Ramsey is writing about.

With the shortcomings that have been noted, this is a book that ought to be read carefully and thoughtfully by people who have already studied and assimilated the major source-books on nonviolence. To others, unacquainted with the latter, the value of this book is problematical. The author gives abundant evidence of good will and assures the reader again and again that he approves the goal of brotherhood. His criticisms are issued from a lofty perch of abstract objectivity rather than from the battlefronts of commitment. His criticism of obliteration bombing, for example, is a telling one. But where was the author when American bombs were raining on refugee-packed Dresden in 1945? It is very well to make criticisms in the abstract; they should not be rejected on that account. But they would mean more to the uninformed reader if they were supported not only by resort to abstract principles but by the weight of a man acting in an existential situation.

It may be unfair to single out from this well-intentioned book inadvertent expressions such as "people of Jewish blood" and "high yellow gal," but these are part of the color of an otherwise severely unemotional book. Do they perhaps reveal latent prejudice underneath all the forceful statements in favor of equality? Certainly this would not be sufficient reason for dismissing Prof. Ramsey's carefully reasoned critique. But they do, in a minor key, add an element of gratuitous discord which the prejudiced reader (pro or anti) may subconsciously turn to his own advantage.

Two Vital New Pacifist Films

THE LANGUAGE OF FACES. 16 mm., black & white, sound. 17 min. Rental: $5 single showing; $15 week from Fellowship Films, Box 291, Nyack, N. Y.

This is a probing, questioning film in which sequences of images such as women in fur coats, a shiny Cadillac and a briefly glimpsed "dial-a-prayer" sign are followed by shots of impoverished people in other lands and woven together with the spoken comment that our society is one in which we produce goods "for the man who has everything" instead of for those who have nothing. Or again, scenes of troops marching are effectively juxtaposed with a quick and solely visual inventory of military toys in a shop window. Even without the spoken commentary, the pictures themselves make clear how far modern man—in America, at least—has gone in accepting militarism and its pursuit of fear-motivated survival as a substitute for life.

Aside from its vital subject matter, *The Language of Faces* ought to win more than one prize as an excellent work of film art for its fresh and imaginative approach. Spoken commentary is highly effective, never intruding upon the visual message, and does not preach or exhort but with a compact economy of words, as indicated above, implants serious questions in the viewer's mind: why is our life like this and what can be done about it? To the latter, the film's closing scene suggests the beginning of an answer as it shows the thousand Quakers of last year's Peace Witness taking up their positions around the Pentagon. You will see many of their resolute and reverent faces, and you will see also the vacuous yet troubled look on a sailor's face, the flashy tailfins of a staff limousine, the brisk, too-busy gait of soldiers hurrying by the vigil members—and it will give you a feeling of the nature of the struggle in which peacemakers confront warmakers. If you are a discussion leader, you will appreciate the way in which this film imposes no burden on the depth or direction which discussion may take. These will depend almost entirely on the audience.

The emotional impact of the film is subtly augmented by a restrained musical score consisting of percussion alone.

FILMS

POLARIS ACTION: NEW LONDON. 16 mm., black & white, sound. 11 min. Rental: $5 single showing; $15 week from Fellowship Films, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

Hilary Harris and his associates have each won prizes for their previous films. *Polaris Action: New London* was made primarily as a "pilot" film to stir up interest and financial support for a more ambitious feature-length film that will include this footage along with sequences of peace action elsewhere. While the latter is to be looked for with some eagerness, the present film needs no excuse for its own existence. This is the story of nonviolent direct action in and around New London, Conn. In it you will see scenes of members of the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) climbing aboard a missile-equipped atomic submarine, talking with shipyard workers and townspeople, shouldering placards in a poster walk. You have seen some scenes like these before, but not woven together the way these are done, with the sense of timing, sequence and selection that spell the difference between the professional and the amateur. Some of the footage consists of newsreel clips, but a lot of it was filmed by FOR member Harris and his colleagues —the scenes of CNVA team members on the water are perhaps the most remarkable.

Despite minor shortcomings in the narration (a tendency to equate pacifism with the specific techniques employed by CNVA, for example), it is serviceable, well-paced and smoothly related to what you see. Discussion leaders would be well-advised to view the film before showing it to an audience, and be prepared to answer some of the questions it is bound to provoke concerning civil disobedience as a form of protest. But the film can be relied upon to hold an audience's interest from start to finish; there is not a dull moment in it, and when there is a lull in the action it is not accidental but contributes to the rhythm of the whole. The art and skill that went into its making entitle this film to be regarded as a "new wave" in pacifist visual aids.

—W.R.M.

pamphlet reviews

• *Capital Punishment* by Richard M. Werkheiser & Arthur C. Barnhart. 32 pp., 35¢. Order from: Natl. Council of the Episcopal Church, 281 Park Ave. South, New York 10, N. Y.

• *The Christian and Capital Punishment* by John Howard Yoder. 24 pp., 50¢. Order from: Faith and Life Press, Newton, Kansas.

"To agitate against the evil of capital punishment is part of the mission of the Church," say Werkheiser and Barnhart in their excellent pamphlet. This judgment is arrived at following a thorough and well-documented examination of the various issues, theological, sociological, psychological and other, which are bound up with the question. At the end, four pages are devoted to a listing, state by state, of organizations working for abolition, and another page and a half to suggestions for further reading.

Among the numerous citations that adorn the Episcopal study is an article by John Howard Yoder that appeared in *Christianity Today*. In his own pamphlet, Dr. Yoder returns to the question with what may qualify as the sturdiest indictment of the death penalty that has yet been produced by a theologian. His approach is biblical and Christ-centered throughout, though he does deal cursorily with the practical issues.

Except for the first couple of pages, each of these pamphlets overleaps its denominational bounds and communicates readily to the Christian layman of any church. The Episcopal pamphlet could well serve as an ecumenical guidebook to the subject, with the Mennonite one acting as a valuable supplement for those to whom the biblical message is of special importance. Taken together, they represent welcome Christian incursions into a field which, except for Quaker efforts, has until recently been left largely to secularists. Certainly it is fitting that the cross—itself an instrument of capital punishment, suffered rather than inflicted—should cast light rather than shadow here.

• *A World Without War* by Walter Millis. Followed by a Discussion. 72 pp., 40¢.

• *Permanent Peace* by Walter Millis. 31 pp., 20¢. Order both from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

"The system of organized international war," says Walter Millis in the first of two pamphlets written for the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, "as we have known it through the ages, has reached a point of no return." From this premise the author goes on to speculate at some length about an international social order that could exist without war. Slightly less than half of this pamphlet is given over to a discussion of Millis' views by eleven men including Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, Jesuit moralist John Courtney Murray, Socialist editor Michael Harrington, and a variety of others.

The second pamphlet is to some extent an outgrowth of the discussion in the first. In a sense, the titles of the two works might seem interchangeable, since *Permanent Peace* is concerned not so much with the nature of affirmative international relations as with the intermediate task of "demilitarizing" the power struggle.

Nowhere in either pamphlet is any attention given to nonviolence as a means of achieving peace and maintaining national integrity. Walter Millis has read King-Hall's *Defense in the Nuclear Age* but there is no evidence of it here. Even so, these pamphlets are among the most lucid if not the most advanced thinking that is being done today, and they deserve to be read and debated widely.

• *South Africa: Revolution or Reconciliation?* by Rt. Rev. Richard Ambrose Reeves. 20 pp., 25¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

This is the 1961 Alex Wood Memorial Lecture, sponsored and published by the British FOR. Its author is the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, a man who has more than once spoken out against what he calls "the heresy of *apartheid*." Bishop Reeves believes that in face of this heresy, the only alternative to a bloody revolution by the victims of *apartheid* is reconciliation initiated by the white population of South Africa. This does not mean "some easygoing form of toleration" but something "costly in terms of overcoming prejudices and fear," requiring the breakdown of master-servant relations between blacks and whites. There must be an encounter as persons "in such a way that in Martin Buber's phrase a genuine 'I-Thou' relationship is established." Time is running out, and the need for such dialog is urgent. Christians, who "ought to have a more profound understanding of the nature of reconciliation than other people," have a special duty to bring such dialog into being. The wisdom that Bishop Reeves presents within the brief compass of this pamphlet is no mere theorizing but is rooted in his

intimate involvement in the South African scene. The spirit, if not the letter, of what he says has a much wider applicability than to the problems of that country alone.

• *Oppression: The Oppressed and the Church* by André Trocmé. 21 pp., 25¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

This is the Alex Wood Memorial Lecture for 1960. Pastor Trocmé exhibits a certain naiveté about the nature of oppression, conceding a benignity of intention to rulers which would make it hard to account for the bestiality sometimes employed in their name. He asserts that "modern oppressors" are "anxious to assist their under-privileged neighbors" and show charity for them by distributing food and clothing, technical aid and financial assistance. Where the trouble arises, Trocmé says, is in the denial of equality between "protegé" and "benefactor." The assessment ignores the usual terms of investments in oppressed countries, where the "benefactor" nation in fact doles out small amounts of capital in order to reap exorbitant profits, taking advantage of the weakness of the "backward" nation. The transaction ordinarily benefits a small class in each country at the expense of the vast majority of the people. Trocmé's heart, however, is, as always, in the right place—and he takes a firm stand with the Gospel and with the oppressed, pointing out that God "is not an impartial God" but "a God who takes the side of the poor." He urges that the Church—and every Christian—should abandon a posture of neutrality and "espouse the cause of these oppressed people." Further, the Church should send out volunteers to engage actively in the struggle. Among examples of such volunteers, he cites Abbé Pierre, the Taizé Brotherhood and Danilo Dolci. Trocmé goes on to distinguish two forms of violence, which he terms "progressive" and "conservative" but argues that the use of violence imperils "the future of Christian civilization," and proposes that a vigorous program of direct action and protest along nonviolent lines could eradicate oppression and social stratifications while not only keeping the Church intact but affording it means of renewal.

• *"Here Stand I"* by Donald O. Soper. 27 pp., 25¢. Order from: Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

Subtitled "The Place of Compromise in the Christian Life," this pamphlet not only concedes but argues cogently that it is impossible for a Christian unswervingly to live by an absolute ethic in a sinful world. Dr. Soper insists that even Jesus engaged in compromise, pointing out that he chose to make his supreme sacrifice only at a time when it would have maximum effect. As in Jesus' ministry, so in the history of the Church certain issues have been compromised in order to enhance the unfolding of a central message. The emphasis has changed from age to age; in the Dark ages, sexual purity held the center of the stage; in the nineteenth century it was opposition to slavery and alcoholic beverages. The last great battle of Christianity, Dr. Soper believes, will be a crusade against all forms of violence, thus bringing the Church full circle to Jesus' own personal witness, but raised to the level of a broad social issue. The time and circumstances, says Dr. Soper, have placed this issue on the agenda for our days, and its dimensions extend all the way from war to bullfighting and the circus. Although, as he has indicated, it may be impossible to escape a measure of compromise in the situations that confront us, there must be no compromise in our affirmation of and commitment to nonviolence.

• *Action Against Apartheid.* 16 pp., 25¢. Order from: American Committee on Africa, 801 Second Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

This pamphlet picks up where most studies of South Africa's flagrant racism leave off. In general assuming that the reader knows what is wrong in South Africa, it tersely delineates five types of action by which Americans can help to influence affairs in that country: 1) boycott of goods, 2) withdrawal of business investments or using them to oppose *apartheid*, 3) boycott or protest by tourists, 4) urge U.S. government action such as a refugee aid policy comparable to that extended to the Hungarian "freedom fighters," 5) contribute to the Defense and Aid Fund set up to assist defendants in the notorious Treason Trials. Each point is discussed fully and factually and followed by a set of specific recommendations. Nowhere else in so compact a form can Americans get such a telling picture of their unwitting complicity in *apartheid*. Here one may learn, for example, that U.S. private investments in South Africa have more than doubled in the past decade, and that South African clothing manufacturers are anticipating a $2 million business in the sales of sports jackets and blazers in the U.S. An even bigger export is $9.9 million worth of rock lobster tails. This pamphlet frequently gives the names of U.S. firms that are involved. It also points out that "action against *apartheid*" has the support and encouragement of South Africa freedom leaders like Chief Luthuli, as well as leaders in free African states.

LETTERS

It is **Fellowship's** policy to print all letters of general interest to its readers, within reasonable limits of space, whether they agree with **Fellowship's** viewpoint or not. You can help to keep this column a free forum by limiting your letters to 200 words.

War Toy Realism

Dear Editors:

The other day we were looking through a toy catalog and noticed some of the very realistic war machines for sale. One item was a kit for building a handsome modern "tank" and we both agreed that building it would probably be fun.

Then it occurred to us that someone should supply with the kit an assortment of plastic men, women and children (also realistic) in various stages of dismemberment and suffering to complete the picture. Perhaps children would see little connection between such gory additions and the tank. The purpose would be to jolt the parents.

—Robert and Ann Stowell
Beaufort, South Carolina

Pickets or Personal Contact?

Dear Editors:

If Robert O. Blood Jr. (*Potpourri*, Fellowship, Nov 1, 1960) had ever joined a picket line I think he would know it takes a great deal more courage than to go see someone.

Usually picket lines, etc., are not formed until all negotiations have failed.

As for holding a position of "importance," many times the only way you can obtain and hold a position of "importance" is to promise to be a good boy and go along with the status quo which immediately defeats your purpose.

—Dorothy Johnson
Jacksonville, Fla.

Weep For the Slain

Dear Editors:

It is not the Eichmann trial that I find "profoundly depressing" but that you (and others) call it so. I am reminded of Jeremiah: "O that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!"

. . . Thank God there were some, even in Germany, who wept with "the stranger." (Pastor Grüber is a memorable example.) There are those . . . who weep and "weep with" today.

. . . Human beings who are not appalled at the evils *actually* already committed on the persons of other human beings in the past, and at their own participation or connivance therein, how can such human beings be at all disturbed by their participation or connivance in "merely" *potential* evils (which they hope somehow will be averted? That is why the deeply felt reminder is needed, not only of the sufferings of concentration camp inmates but also . . . of the inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Indeed, "repentance begins at home."

—Murray Klibanoff
New York, New York

ADVERTISEMENTS

ROBINWOOD INN, Jackson, N. H. White Mountain vacation center. Write for descriptive literature. The Doerflers

Experimental Communal Society to be founded in South Pacific. Seek creative members (21-40) eager to work. Philia, Box 1149, Washington 13, D. C.

THAT MEN MAY LIVE . . . in peace together

FELLOWSHIP is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious organization based on the belief that love, such as that seen pre-eminently in Jesus, must serve as the true guide of personal conduct under all circumstances. Members of the FOR seek to demonstrate this love as the effective force for overcoming evil and transforming society into a creative fellowship. Although members do not bind themselves to an exact form of words,

- They refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;
- They strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;
- They advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;
- They endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with persons of other classes, nationalities, and races;
- They seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

All persons, regardless of race, sex or religious affiliation, who conscientiously support this affirmation of purpose, are invited to become members of the Fellowship. Membership is not conditional upon contributions of money. However, contributions are invited and are deductible for income tax purposes. For a free copy of the full Statement of Purpose (with membership application), write to Box 271, Nyack, New York.

THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

OFFICERS

George Lyman Paine ..... Hon. Chairman
Charles R. Lawrence ..... Chairman
M. Forest Ashbrook ..... Vice-Chairman
A. Stauffer Curry ..... Vice-Chairman
Paul Deats ..... Vice-Chairman
Allan A. Hunter ..... Vice-Chairman
Alberta Lunger ..... Vice-Chairman
Robert Moon ..... Vice-Chairman
Claud D. Nelson ..... Vice-Chairman
Emily Parker Simon ..... Vice-Chairman
J. Martin England ..... Treasurer
Lloyd Berg ..... Asst. Treasurer

NATIONAL STAFF

Alfred Hassler ..... Executive Secretary
Glenn E. Smiley ..... Associate Secretary, Field Work
John C. Heidbrink ..... Associate Secretary, Church Work
Brewster Kneen ..... Student Secretary
Raymond Paavo Arvio ..... Finance Secretary
William Robert Miller ..... Managing Editor
John M. Swomley Jr. ..... Foreign Affairs Consultant
A. J. Muste ..... Secretary Emeritus
John Nevin Sayre ..... International FOR

ADVISORY COUNCIL

Roland H. Bainton
Harold A. Bosley
Charles F. Boss
Margueritte Harmon Bro
George A. Buttrick
Henry J. Cadbury
Robert L. Calhoun
Henry Hitt Crane
Edwin T. Dahlberg
Albert Edward Day
William J. Faulkner
Nels F. S. Ferré
Harry Emerson Fosdick
Richard B. Gregg
Isidor Hoffman
John Haynes Holmes
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King Jr.
Kenneth Scott Latourette
William Appleton Lawrence
Mary Ely Lyman
Clarence Pickett
Carl Rasmussen
Paul Scherer
Arthur L. Swift Jr.
Howard Thurman
Dan West

FIELD STAFF

KANSAS
Rev. Ken Redfearn
Box 1076
Hugoton, Kansas

OREGON
Howard D. Willits
11848 S. E. Powell Blvd.
Portland 66, Oregon

ARIZ.: GREATER PHOENIX
Rev. Walter Dugan
3020 E. Virginia Ave.
Phoenix 1, Arizona

CAL.: METROPOLITAN LOS ANGELES
Miss Lois V. Hamer
4360 Melrose Ave.
Los Angeles 29, Calif.

ILL.: GREATER CHICAGO
Mrs. Dorothy Calkins
3212 Otto Lane
Evanston, Illinois

MASS.: GREATER BOSTON
Rev. Neal Fisher
67 Lowe Street
Revere, Mass.

Rev. Jerry Fix
40 Peterborough St.
Boston 15, Mass.

Rev. Harold Garman
393 Marlborough St.
Boston 16, Mass.

Peter Salmon
10 Kirkland Road
Cambridge 38, Mass.

N. J.: CENTRAL NEW JERSEY
Rev. Henry Frost
222 Main St.
S. Bound Brook, N. J.

N.Y.: ROCKLAND COUNTY
Dr. Earle H. Warner
Box 271
Nyack, N. Y.

N. Y.: METROPOLITAN NEW YORK
Rev. A. J. Muste
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

N. C.: CENTRAL NORTH CAROLINA
Rev. John Kinard
924 W. Monroe St.
Salisbury, N. C.

PA.: GREATER PHILADELPHIA
Rev. T. Y. Rogers Jr.
2006 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

TEX.: DALLAS-FT. WORTH-DENTON
Fanny B. Vanderkooi
10251 Harry Hines Blvd.
Dallas, Texas

PACIFIC NORTHWEST
Maxine Acker
1614 West 8th Street
Aberdeen, Washington

WASH.: GREATER SEATTLE
Irwin Hogenauer
1314 East 43rd Street
Seattle, Washington

REPRESENTATIVES OF DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATES

BAPTIST PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Miss Lillian Robertson
Amer. Bap. For. Miss. Soc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

DISCIPLES PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Barton Hunter
222 So. Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana

EPISCOPAL PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Freedom Wentworth III
77 Brentwood Drive
Malden 48, Mass.

FELLOWSHIP OF ETHICAL PACIFISTS
Martha Friedlander
1906 Rittenhouse Square
Philadelphia 3, Penna.

FELLOWSHIP OF METHODIST PACIFISTS
Mrs. Margarita Will
18W 684 13 Street
Lombard, Illinois

LIBERAL RELIGIOUS PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Frank A. Wahlstrom
46 Adin Street
Hopedale, Mass.

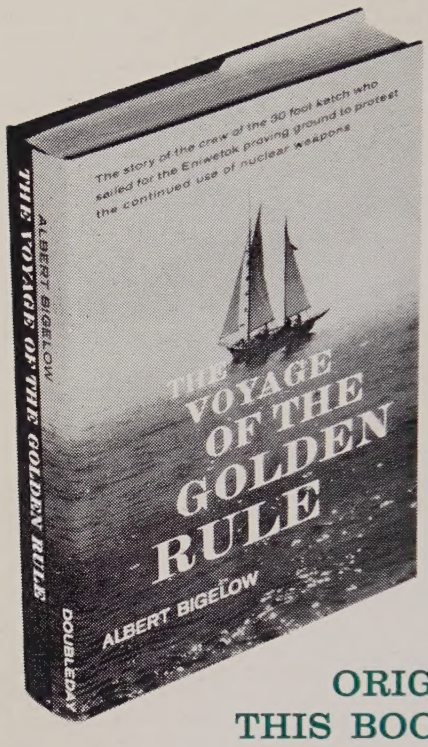
LUTHERAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Lloyd A. Berg
2407 Eastchester Road
New York 69, N. Y.

NEW CHURCH PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP
Gustave J. Bischof
471 Ocean Parkway
Brooklyn 18, N. Y.

PEACE FELLOWSHIP OF PRESBYTERIANS
Mrs. B. W. Hamilton
52 East 66 Street
New York City

SOUTHERN PRESBYTERIAN PEACE FELLOWSHIP
Rev. Henry Lofquist
Snow Hill, N. C.

UNITED CHURCH PEACE FELLOWSHIP (CONGR.-E & R)
Rev. Theodore A. Braun
807 West Beaver Avenue
State College, Penna.


The story of the crew of the 30 foot ketch who sailed for the Eniwetok proving ground to protest the continued use of nuclear weapons
THE VOYAGE OF THE GOLDEN RULE
ALBERT BIGELOW
DOUBLEDAY
ALBERT BIGELOW
THE VOYAGE OF THE GOLDEN RULE

ALBERT BIGELOW is a World War II Navy combat commander who took the helm of a pacifist ship to protest U. S. nuclear bomb tests in the South Pacific.

A member of the FOR National Council, Albert Bigelow has spoken with his life for the way of nonviolence—he was a member of the original Freedom Ride team that recently focused the eyes of the world on jim crow in the South.

THE VOYAGE OF THE GOLDEN RULE will introduce you to this remarkable man and others like him. It is an eloquent testimony of the power of nonviolence and steadfast purpose wielded by a handful of men, to shake the foundations of a violent world and bring the message of peace to the masses.

ORIGINALLY PRICED AT $3.95— THIS BOOK IS YOURS FOR ONLY $1

This special reduced price applies while copies last—orders will be filled on a first-come, first-served basis. Don't delay

OTHER IMPORTANT BOOKS

THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE by Richard B. Gregg. "Must" reading for anyone who wants to understand nonviolent direct action. A classic since 1934, this book was thoroughly revised and brought up to date in 1959. Buy a copy for your library. $2.50

DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE by Stephen King-Hall. Nonviolence is the only feasible method of national defense today—this is the verdict of a distinguished British military strategist. This book has received acclaim in *The Christian Century*, *Saturday Review* and elsewhere. $2.75

THE MAGNOLIA JUNGLE by P. D. East. The life and times of a Mississippi newspaper editor who answers white supremacist bigotry with a humane (and sometimes barbed) wit. $3.95

OUTLAWS by Danilo Dolci. The story of one man's struggle against the teeming poverty, ignorance and crime of today's Sicily. Included is the full account of the "reverse strike" that Dolci led, and extracts from the trial that followed. $4.95.

All books sent postpaid *Write for latest catalog*

FELLOWSHIP PUBLICATIONS

BOX 271, NYACK, N.Y.